The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the wrapper.

The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed.

No bills or receipt sent to individual subscribers.

The People.

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscription sent in by them.

Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

VOL. VIII—NO. 41. NEW YORK JANUARY, 8, 1899. PRICE 2 CENTS

MARLBORO.

Account of the Recent Historic Incidents There.

Capitalist City Officials Working Hand in Hand With Fakirs Against S. L. P.

WATCH THE REVULSION!

Official Reports of Comrade Martha Moore Avery from the Marlboro Field to the Massachusetts State Central Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, that Commissioned Her to Enlighten the Shoeworkers on Strike on the Class Struggle—Effects of the Teachings of the Skeffington-Murray-Tobin Labor Misleaders on the Unhappy Workers.

Marlboro, Dec. 28, 1898.
5:30 o'clock.

To the State Central Committee, L. D. Usher, Secretary:

As your letter suggested, I decided to come here the night before my lectures began. The public meeting would give me the cue to what was in the minds of the strikers and also I wanted to see Mr. Inskip; no one of the party, so far as I could learn, had called upon him. I found Comrade Cashman in the hotel office on my arrival at Marlboro, at 4:15. He went with me to call upon Mr. Inskip. I wrote on my card "representative of the S.L.P." Someone from a little crowd of men standing by the desk said to the clerk: "Mr. Inskip has just gone to the hall." I said, glancing at the clock, it is but 20 minutes past 7—too early, I think, for Mr. Inskip to go to the hall, you will please take my card to his room. The card was returned with the somewhat stumbling reply "that he was out, at least his friend said he was out." I then wrote upon the same card that "I will call at any time convenient to you to-morrow," also, writing "Preston House." I could see that Mr. Inskip was being cared for by the "labor leaders."

We then went to the office of "The Enterprise." My purpose was to ask the editor if he would publish, daily, an abstract of my lectures. "Man proposes but the Powers that be disposes." The editor was not in. At the telephone stood the reporter whom I had seen on my former visits. I thought it was he who had sent out the vicious Associated Press reports in regard to the affair of the turning out of the lights making it appear that I stealthily entered the hall and otherwise did not obey the ceremony and courtesy of the occasion. I said to him: "I remember your asking me what I thought of the Associated Press and that my reply was that it is a great avenue for distributing news. When I read the report that I had surreptitiously entered the hall and more of like vicious misrepresentation I recalled what I had said to you, and I ask am I right in thinking that it was you who sent out that report?" Mr. Murphy, for that is his name, manfully faced the matter, said he "had not meant to do injustice, if he had, he was willing to do what he could to make amends." There was no mistaking the man's sincerity, the more so as there were several bystanders. I said: "No doubt, you will have soon an opportunity to set up the same machinery for distributing news and then I shall be able to know how deep seated this apology is." I spoke much better than I knew as to the opportunity for amends.

We went from there to the theatre. The hall was already crowded, and the meeting in progress. We asked the usher for seats in the gallery. No seats anywhere in the house. Well, then standing room. We were conducted to the side aisle down, passed the line which reached to within about 15 or 20 feet of the box adjoining the stage. The meeting progressed as such meetings do. Allowing the speakers to be honest like Rip Van Winkle, they must have been asleep for 20 years. Still advocating as the only weapons the strike, boycott and the label.

Comrade Cashman and I made not the slightest move that could have attracted attention, save when at the close of the meeting Murray, the head man in front of the strike leaders, said that since the 13th of August 75 girls had stood out against a reduction of wages without the slightest break, at which point I applauded. The meeting adjourned. We deliberated as to whether Mr. Inskip would pass down the side aisle, or whether he would hold a reception on the stage. We waited, and passed two or three steps towards the box, and I asked if there were a passage from the box to the stage. At this time hissing became distinct from all parts of the hall; we wondered what was the cause, and it must have been 4 or 5 minutes before I learned that the demonstration was for me. It was funny, as well as pitiful, to see the girls about me draw away their skirts lest they should not touch my garments. Just at this time an officer pressed forward and in much excitement ordered me from the hall. I asked: "What is this for?" He said: "You are making a disturbance." "But I am absolutely quiet." He insisted that I was disturbing and that I was making all the disturbance, then took hold of me in rough manner and tried to forcefully eject me from the hall. I braced and said: "You will take your hands off, I can't be put out of a hall in this manner for no reason whatever." Then came the young man usher, who claimed to have full charge of the hall; he wanted me put out. "Very well, take charge of the hall and do your duty in protecting the rights of your guests from such assaults." Before the second one came at least six or seven attempts were made to push me from the hall, then both together they laid hands on me. At one time Comrade Cashman was carried very nearly out of the doors. While we were seperated, Mr. Murphy's (the reporter) voice said to me: "Mrs. Avery, I am with you now." "I am glad you are here," I replied.

We waited until the hall was nearly cleared, and just as the lights were being put out we walked slowly towards the door. Hissing, hooting, jeering and all other demonstrations of a mob were present. Not an officer in view—1,200 to 1,500 people, blinded with emotion, with the sense of injustice and of their helplessness, centering for the time being their desire for redress and revenge upon me. We were immediately surrounded, the crowd surging to and fro, for 3 or 4 minutes we could make no progress. At this point one officer broke through to our assistance. I was obliged during the slow progress of the next 200 feet to turn and face the mob that, besides striking me, was throwing mud and snow and spitting upon me, and I said: "I will take these blows in my face not in my back"; but as they would close in behind me on the other side, I would soon be obliged to turn again. Comrade Cashman continually exorted the officer to use his club, his whistle, to draw his revolver. I added to this by saying, such a tame attempt at protection would be reported. Feeling all the time, as I did, that the strikers were looking upon me as an enemy who was trying to corral them into the den of misfortune and misery, I could not help taking their part sympathetically, and it was a curious sensation; but I could not take the mob seriously, notwithstanding I was being tripped and kicked, together with all the other indignities that they could think of. I was not afraid, nor was my temper ruffled. I would not forget to tell you that Mr. Murphy, by his generous courage, saved us from many physical blows during the line of march home. Comrade Cashman proved himself cool and courageous from first to last. A savage stand was made at the hotel door. The ONE only officer, careful all the while not to injure the crowd, made a determined move to pass us into the hotel. The door was ripped from its hinges. I don't know what prompted me, but at the door I turned and bade the mob good night as though I had, in honor, been escorted home.

You saw, of course, the Associated Press reports; below is a clipping from the local daily "The Enterprise":

A reporter of the "Enterprise" saw Mrs. Avery and Mr. Cashman in the hotel parlors after this incident was closed. Both were cool and collected and showed little evidence of the ordeal they had undergone. Mrs. Avery received the newspaper man graciously and seemed perfectly willing to speak.

In regard to the impression that has gone around that she was here to break up the strike, she said she would regard it as a crime to help defeat the strikers. All her efforts would be directed to aid the strikers to win. The people had evidently misunderstood her. The demonstration under the excitement of mob rule was natural. She came here, she said, to deliver a course of lectures and was sent by the State Committee of the Socialist Labor party.

It may be stated in this connection that Mrs. Avery and Mr. Cashman came to the theatre before the meeting and were conducted to the place they occupied by an usher and beyond applauding some of the sentiments uttered by the speakers remained quite the entire evening.

We visited the police headquarters on the morning of the 28th with a double purpose.

First, I presented this letter:

Dec. 28, 1898.

To the Chief of Police of Marlboro:—

I respectfully represent that on Tuesday, Dec. 27, at the Marlboro Theatre, I was without the slightest provocation unwarrantably assaulted by officers of your city. I desire an explanation of and a public apology for such treatment.

The Marshal, who is a good-natured fellow—much too handsome in his own opinion to be of service to the State—thought he would be safe if he said nothing, at least I succeeded in making an appointment later the same day to investigate the conduct of the officers who were on the scene of action during the mob rule.

Second, I desired assurance that officers would be stationed at our meeting that night. No, he thought, I must pay for protection if I wanted it. I represented that he was responsible for safeguarding the peace of the city and for the proper protection, that this is a time of much public excitement, that, in a word, the city is in the state of a siege. Mr. Marshal told me that I was a disturber and intimated that the best thing that could be done was for me to shake Marlboro dust from my feet.

We then went to the Mayor, found the Marshal already there before us. I said to the Mayor that I desired a private conference. Mr. Marshal was thus sent home.

He, too, thought if we wanted protection that we must pay for it. He did not understand why, if I was in sympathy with the strikers, that I was such an unwelcome guest in Marlboro. I satisfied him quickly on that point by saying: "You are sufficiently a politician to know the manipulation of the labor vote. If the Socialist Labor party once get a chance to educate the shoeworkers of this city the power of the labor fakir is at an end."

Arguing the matter pro and con, the Mayor said: "If I find a point of irritation within the city it is my duty to remove it if I can, and if I can't to modify it as best I can." I smiled and replied: "As I am the point of irritation and you can't remove me (being a citizen of the Commonwealth, I am on my own stamping ground here in Marlboro), it is precisely what I ask that you do modify the irritation at the meeting by sending officers in full view of the audience that they may know that order is desired."

At the conclusion of the interview, which was very interesting and courteous all through (personally the Mayor is a man of elegance of speech and of manner), I said: "Your decision compels me to the conclusion that both the Mayor and the Marshal of Marlboro are incompetent to correctly estimate the measures necessary to keep the peace. I shall be obliged to so represent the situation to the Governor of the Commonwealth." A flush passed quickly over his face. He then desired to call the Marshal, but to no purpose, the Marshal did not see his way clear to retrace his steps from the stubborn position taken.

We then sent the following telegramme:

To his Excellency, Gov. Wolcott:—

We desire to represent that in our judgment the decision of Mayor and Chief of Marlboro against stationing officers at Socialist meeting to-night betrays incompetency to properly safe-guard the peace of the city and protection of citizens of the commonwealth. We ask State protection. Please see "Herald."

MARTHA MOORE AVERY, of Boston.
THOMAS J. CASHMAN, of Lynn.

The appointment at the Chief's office was kept to inquire into the conduct of the officers. First, I had the Sargeant, to whom the report of last night's work had been given. He positively could not hear, so agitated was his mental state. Nothing was learned, save that no written report had been made.

Then came the first officer, who had tried to eject me from the hall. He had done, he avered, his duty as he knew it. This was no doubt true, for his excitement must have prevented him from getting a clear conception of official duty.

I said: "I want to tell you before your superior officer that if you are in favor of the strikers I am glad of it, and if your assault upon me was because you thought I play the traitor part to the workers, your official conduct is reprehensible, to me personally it is somewhat excusable."

On examining the next officer brought before us, Comrade Cashman and I first learned that the officer who began the line of march gave us over to the charge of another officer when we were half way home. Human ingenuity is past finding out! I said to this officer also that "I am glad if you are in sympathy with the strikers," and thanked him for his escort; from the top of the hill he had really done good service.

Leaving the letter before referred to in the hands of the Marshal we retired. This ends the work of last night and to-day, including the several reporters that have called for the news.

Oh! the Marshal told me that he had been informed by those in authority that we are to be refused the hall, for which we have a written contract. It is evident that much pressure is being brought to bear upon Mr. Ryan, the owner of the hall to refuse us the use of it. In the evening edition of the "Globe," which circulates freely in this city, there is what purports to be an interview with Mr. Ryan as follows:

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY DENIED USE OF PUBLIC HALL.

Several days ago a young man hired Ryan's Hall for a course of lectures. This morning the city was flooded with flyers, which announced that, commencing this evening, there would be a series of six lectures given at the hall under the auspices of the Socialist Labor party, and that one of the speakers would be Mrs. Martha Moore Avery.

The presence of that lady last evening at the strikers' mass meeting occasioned so much disturbance and so excited the ire of the strikers, that Mr. Ryan stated this noon to "The Globe" that he should not allow his hall to be opened for the purpose for which it was hired, fearing that it would result in riotous scenes.

He stated that he felt justified, in view of the intense feeling existing among the strikers against representatives of the party whose cause Mrs. Avery espouses, in declining to have meetings held there under the auspices of Mrs. Avery and her coadjutors.

We shall see what we shall see.

Fraternally,
MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

* * *

Dec. 29, 5 o'clock.

When we arrived at the hall last night, the stairways were crowded; the owner appeared and, as the reporter put it in the "Spy" the next day, "no money, no hall." For a moment we thought he wanted the $25 which the contract called for. I wondered if we were blessed with so much money, but said: "Will a part do?" "Yes, a part will do."

We were inside.

It was hard to determine at first the state of mind the crowd was in.

Comrade Cashman called the meeting to order. I began and you will learn the result of the meeting and also the attempt to discredit it in the following letter which explains itself:

ONLY TWO INTERRUPTIONS.

Mrs. Martha Moore Avery Writes in Justice to Marlboro Strikers.

To the Editor of "The Globe":

Please permit me to make a correction of the report of the first one of a series of six lectures I am to give in Marlboro under the auspices of the Socialist Labor party.

In your issue of 5 o'clock edition Dec. 29, the report reads as follows: "Despite the fact that Mrs. Martha Moore Avery had much difficulty since the inauguration of the strike in obtaining a hall, she at last accomplished her purpose, and last evening made an address at Ryan's Hall. There was a large crowd present, composed chiefly of young men, who continually hooted and jeered her. She finally ceased, being completely broken down, and was escorted to her hotel by two policemen, followed by a number of people."

This statement is incorrect almost in its entirety. During the lecture there were but two interruptions of slight importance, not sufficient to break my address. I am not and have not been broken in the slightest degree.

My heart was touched with gratitude last night at the close of the meeting at the complete change in the attitude of the strikers toward me, which was still further demonstrated at the lecture to-night by the absolute quiet of the entire audience during my address of one hour.

Not one person followed me one step of the way home from the hall last night. Three persons accompanied me home a part of the way and one only to my hotel.

I make this correction in justice to the strikers, who have been falsely informed, as well as to myself. Yours truly,

MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

Marlboro, Dec. 29.

At the conclusion she asked, his voice was sincere and anxious: "Mrs. Avery, I should like to know if you are here in the interest of the manufacturers or in the interest of the strikers." There followed applause, then a moment of intense emotion, an instinctive coming nearer and bending forward, suppressed to absolute stillness, awaiting my answer. The reaction had set in in earnest. "I have worked ten years in the labor movement; have been estranged from my family for so doing; I should regard it as criminal to work in any manner against the success of the strike. More, I challenge anyone here and now, or hereafter, to prove that I have at any point worked against the interest of wage-workers in any conflict between them and the capitalist class. If you do not know now in whose interest I am working, time will prove which side I take."

Fraternally,
MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

* * *

Dec. 30.

Last night our meeting was not so large, but the closest attention was given. Again the officers were in attendance. I have no doubt that our telegram to the Governor was the convincing argument.

We questioned Mr. Ryan as to the "Globe" report. He admitted making somewhat such statement. Mr. Ryan is a staunch friend of the strikers. He said to me: "Miss Avery you have been greatly misrepresented and ill-treated in this city."

We learn from several quarters that the fakirs did all they could to close the door of Liberty Hall against us as they succeeded in doing several others.

Fraternally,
MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

* * *

Dec. 31.

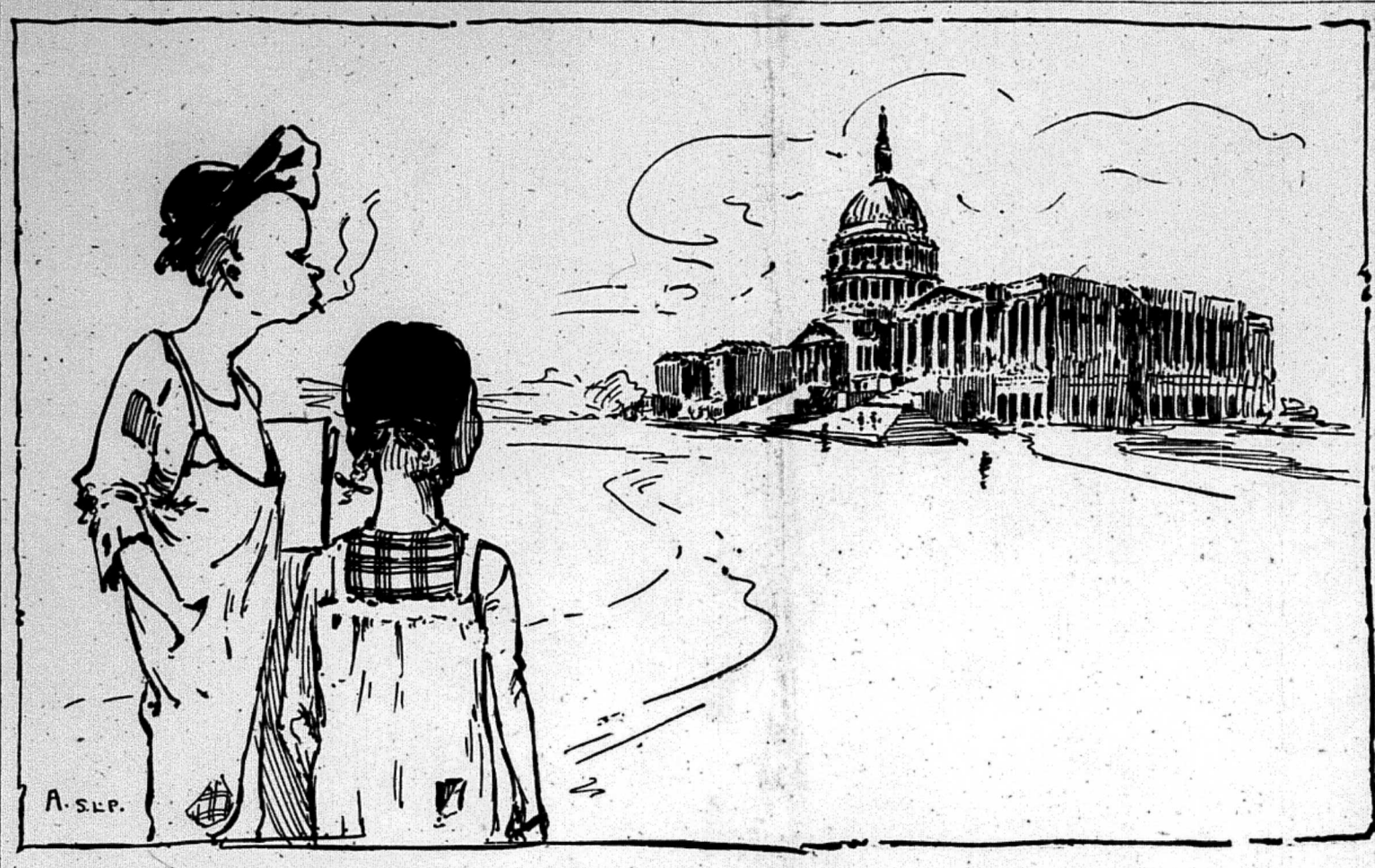
The meeting last night was the largest of the three, and as still as a mouse. The literature has been eagerly taken.

If I may be pardoned, the men are trying by gentle courtesy to make amends. I am glad not to know the face of one single man or woman who took part in the fray on Tuesday night.

Fraternally,
MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

A favorite method of avoiding action is to expand its sphere beyond the point that can be covered. We are all familiar with the method of those parliamentarians, who, wishing to avoid the investigation of a Government Department in which they are interested, move to amend that the investigation extend to fifty more departments. That usually frees the first one from the dreaded looking-into.

Upon this principle seems to proceed the Haverhill "Socialist" Mayor. He must allay the fear of the capitalist concerns that elected him; his wearing the name of "Socialist" terrifies them; he must let them know that it is only a lion's skin, and that below the skin is a very sorry, silly, harmless quadruped. This he does in his inauguration address by declaring that the real question of Socialism can not be undertaken by a municipality, not even the State or Nation, that it is an international affair.—Shoved off away beyond the municipality's reach. Socialism will not frighten the capitalists and corruptionists who boomed this "Socialist" into the Haverhill Mayoralty.



The Innocent:—"What's it called the Capitol for?"

The Wise One:—"'Cause it's run for Capitalists, of course." (N. B.—This is no Joke.)

THE VOTE.

The Latest Returns Make 82,000 Sure.

NEW YORK.

The official count for the State of New York gives the following totals:

Hanford, Governor	23,880
Armstrong, Lieutenant-Governor	24,601
Jackson, Secretary of State	25,095
Forker, Comptroller	24,042
Smith, State Treasurer	24,875
Corregan, Attorney-General	25,346
Morris, State Engineer	24,858

Elsewhere in this issue the vote will be found tabulated by counties; the increase over last year is 3,006.

* * *

The party's strength in the country may now be given with sufficient approximateness as follows:

Alabama	344
California	7,780
Colorado	2,000
Connecticut	2,866
Illinois	4,507
Indiana	1,715
Iowa	1,081
Kansas	646
Kentucky	394
Maryland	508
Massachusetts	10,063
Michigan	1,100
Minnesota	1,687
Missouri	1,063
Nebraska	248
New Jersey	5,458
New Hamsphire	407
New York	23,860
Ohio	5,793
Pennsylvania	4,318
Rhode Island	2,579
Texas	500
Virginia	528
Washington	1,323
Wisconsin	1,477
Totals	82,182

Of the above figures, the vote of Alabama was cast in the spring for members of the Legislature; the figures for Maryland and Virginia represent last year's poll; Virginia had no State election this year, and in Maryland, where there was no State election either, errors in the filing of nomination papers crippled the opportunity to ascertain the party's growth; the figures for Colorado, Michigan, New Hamsphire and Texas are incomplete, and probably will be higher than given above. All other figures are official and final. When all the returns are in the tabulated list by States will be published.

Of all the requirements that await Socialists at the present time the demand for an intelligent discharge of duty stands pre-eminent. Day by day, the discontent, the misery and want created by capitalism and its understrappers increases, and every day more and more people—forced to it by their stomachs if by nothing else—are looking into these things. Of course much of the talk is chaotic, and there is pitiful groping in the dark. Something more than a common bond of suffering is needed to enable the sufferers to see the root of the evil. That something is Socialist enlightenment as to the cause of the sufferings, and not until they are thus enlightened will the sufferers thunder forth the decree that will overthrow capitalism.

Hence the first duty of every Socialist is the doing of everything in his power to propagate the principles and advance the cause of Socialism. This is best accomplished by the distribution of Socialist literature and by extending the circulation of our officially recognized party press. During the heat of a campaign is not the best time for effective propaganda work, yet some of our comrades only become active at that time. The season for sowing of Socialist seed is a continuous one—campaign time is the brief period of harvest.

While organization is the only proper means of maintaining our movement political and economic, yet the value of individual effort in propaganda should not be underestimated. While supporting and working with the organization everything need not be left to the organized body, as some comrades are too prone to do. Each individual has his field in which to work and which cannot be more effectually reached than by himself.

I know of one comrade whose hours of labor make it impossible for him to attend meetings and thus keep in close touch with his Section, who, nevertheless, during the past year secured six yearly and six half yearly subscribers to THE PEOPLE, sold two Almanacs, three "Carpenter of Nazareth," besides disposing of a quantity of other literature. Persistent individual effort on the part of every Socialist is sure to result in accelerated speed to the great whole. The opening of the New Year is a fitting time in which to renew our zeal and devotion to the great cause which we champion by striving with might and main to andvance it.—J. H.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

THE PEOPLE.

Published at 184 William Street, New York
— EVERY SUNDAY. —

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.
Invariably in advance:

one year	$1.00
six months	0.50
single copies	0.02

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office on April 6, 1891.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	12,231
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1897	55,673

The difference is great between desire and determination: desire floats carefully among the clouds, determination runs on foot among stones. One leaves everything to chance, the other expects nothing but from itself. Determination goes straight to its point over hedges and ditches, ravines and mountains, while desire remains motionless and cries in its sweetest voice:

"Steeple, steeple, come or I shall die!"

EDMOND ABOUT.

SMASHING THE FAMILY—WRECKING THE RACE.

In New Jersey a discussion is raging on the subject of the employment of women in the Worthington Pump Company as core makers. A workingman wrote to object; thereupon one capitalist paper after another took up the subject, and, without exception, approved of the innovation. The liberty to look for work is the ground they take.

It is of little use to raise one's eyes "higher," look beyond our frontiers, and ask whether the class that is thus degrading the people by forcing woman into machine shops is the class to be trusted to civilize the Filipions, Cubans and Porto Ricans. The thing to do is to contemplate that class fixedly, fixedly contemplate its principles, and thus get a clear idea of its character. That being done, the situation will be best understood.

The capitalist class claims to base its existence upon "Freedom." It tires not of speaking of "freedom of contract," "freedom to look for and secure work," etc. And yet for a slaver class it has no equal, for a hypocrite it is unexcelled.

A free field and no favor sounds well; but that implies certain conditions. It implies not only a field as available to one runner as another, but that both are placed at a par. If, however, one runner is so loaded down with weights that he can hardly move, and another is left free and easy, then, however free the path may be, there is no equality, and consequently no freedom.

This being thus, the lack of equality and freedom becomes all the more shocking if positive facilities for the race are given one runner, while the other is left without any. It is scored against squirarchy that in its duels with the mechanichs, the knight was allowed full armor, defensive and offensive, while the plebeian was compelled to fight unprotected and without any weapon except the tool of his trade. There was no freedom there.

In view of this, what shall be said of that "freedom" that consists in creating famine around the majority of the people; and thes having become ravenous, allow them freedom to so compete with one anther, aye, to so compete with their own lives, as to drive them to the point of sacrificing almost all for the privilege of keeping out of the grave!

That is what capitalist "freedom" amounts to. The working class, being deprived of every opportunity to earn a living, it is now insisted on shall enjoy full freedom to—compete with itself: the men with the women, the women with the children, the children with one another, in other words, to smash the family, to wreck the race in order that the idle capitalist live!

There is, however, a higher law and a higher freedom that the working class will assuredly appeal to and avail themselves of: the Freedom to throw off their backs the Capitalist Class that now oppresses them.

Speed the day!

FUDGE!

A certain tobacco company is deluging the land with circulars against "the combine." A perusal of the same is amusing. It tells how the tobacco trust will have it in its power to tyrannize the people, and it warns the public that such a concern might become "stronger than the Courts," "stronger than the general government itself." As a paladin against such un-Americanism it sets itself up before the public and demands its patronage.

Is this paladin really against tyranny? On close observation it will be discovered that it is only against the tyranny of the more powerful, in other words, against the tyranny exercised over it, but in no way against tyranny itself. It, powerful though it be and is, stands towards the tobacco trust in the same attitude as the middle class stands towards the upper capitalists, holding also the same wild, bourgeois-radical language. Understanding the middle class one will understand this tobacco paladin.

The middle class would sooner be consumed in flames than give up the means by which it tyrannizes the working class; but let the logic of its premises bring upon itself tyranny from developed capitalism and it rises up, in tinsel armor. Then it appeals to all the glories of the past and the possible glories of the future, it threatens (always like a coward), and, when least expected collapses, being bought out bodily. Such is the middle class; such is its conduct; and by the light thereof our tobacco paladin's horoscope may be taken. This ranter against the potential tyranny of the tobacco trust is only trying to make itself important to the trust; and, if it succeeds in bamboozling the people with its cant, and thereby becomes too importunate to the trust, it will be offered a round price and will sell out, and take out stock in the "tyrannous" affair, and enjoy the fruits of tyranny like any other well brought up capitalist sponge.

It may be interesting to the workers to watch this concern: they will there discover the epitome of the middle class, and they may thus take warning.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

In our issues of last Dec. 25 and Jan. 1 instant, we took occasion to criticise the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" for two successive articles in which, contrary to the constitution of the Association that issues it, it undertook to utter opinions against the tactics of the Socialist Labor party,—opinions, that, as we showed with unquestionable facts, were baseless and, above all, mischievous. The method it adopted to "answer" is one we are quite familiar with. Since THE PEOPLE exists, with very few exceptions, the adversaries of the party's tactics, whenever taken hold of and confuted, have dropped argument wholly, dodged the question, run away from it and become indecorously personal. Such was the nature of the "answer" that proceeded from the "Volkszeitung"; in sight of all of which, its Editor was administered the following rebuke by the Board of Directors, that has that paper in charge, at its regular session on Dec. 28, and authorized publication thereof in THE PEOPLE:

> We find that the articles in the "Volkszeitung" of Dc. 14 and 19 are at variance with the tactics of the S. L. P.; and we censure the Editor of the "Volkszeitung" for his unbecoming answer, in the issue of Dec. 24, to the justified criticism by the party organ, THE PEOPLE.

The Dayton, O., "Daily News" reproduces from a European expert on pedigrees some interesting information on many of the titles borne by our heiresses, going to show that these titles are bogus, many of them being borne by "the descendants of servants of noble families or by low-bred persons who had purchased them." The expert is quoted as enumerating the following instances and saying:

> Miss Gould, of New York, married Count Castellane. There is no Count Castellane. There were two Castellane families, one from Provence and one from Toulouse. The former, which is now extinct, rightly bore the title. The Toulouse Castellanes, to whom belongs Miss Gould's husband, never had a title, but assumed one when the Provence family died out.
>
> Then Count de Rohan-Chabot, who married Miss Heyward, is not a count, either. His name is Chabot. The name de Rohan he took from his first wife.
>
> There is no Baron de Giers, although the man whom Dr. Chauncey M. Depew's ward, Miss Collins, married last year bears that name. The Duc Decazes, husband of Mary Singer, of New York, is the son of a police prefect, and bears a title of no value.
>
> Count de Villars, who married Carola Livingston, has no right to a title. He is descended from a man who came to Paris and started in the hotel business and quietly assumed the title of count.
>
> Clara Ward married an alleged Prince de Chimay. There is no original Prince Chimay. A Chimay married a princess and took the title of prince. Duc de la Rochefoucauld, who married Mattie Mitchell, has a right title, but it is too new to be valuable, for he is a descendant of a blacksmith.
>
> American women, when they cannot marry even bogus French titles, sometimes get them from the Pope. For instance, Mrs. Mackin, of St. Louis, is the papal Countess de Spotiswood-Mackin. Mrs. Wentworth, of New York, is the papal Marquise de Wentworth. Even these bogus titles are dear. Miss Gould's cost $15,000,000, Miss Singer's $2,000,000. Miss Coudert, of New York, paid $250,000 for the privilege of being the Marquise Choiseul. These statements can be verified by documents in the National Library.

After quoting these interesting facts the "Daily News" proceeds to moralize, but muffs the point. The real point is that that is happening to our bourgeois "nobility" that accentuates the virtues by which it rose to distinction.

The old-time nobility had its root and source in acts of daring implying at least physical courage; by such "virtues" it rose to "distinction"; birds of a feather flock together; the descendants of distinguished bandits coupled: the son of a red-handed brigand attracted and was attracted by the daughter of another red-handed brigand. But the virtues that raise the bourgeois to "distinction" are not those of physical, much less of moral, courage; their deeds are not performed in the open field of struggle; the deeds by which they reach pre-eminence are the putting of water into molasses, the sanding of sugar, the putting of shoddy into clothing, the watering of stocks, fraudulent failures and fires, etc., etc., —in short, by SWINDLE. As in the case of the feudal "nobility," so now in the case of the bourgeois or capitalist "nobility." Birds of a feather continue to flock together: the son of a swindling capitalist attracts and is attracted by the daughter of another swindling ditto. As physical brigandage tied the knot in feudal society, so sneak-thief swindle now ties the knot in capitalist circles.

There is nothing out of the way in the swindle perpetrated on our heiresses; and to understand that this is so is to understand history.

It seems that the reputation and the "writings" of Professor Green Goods, sometimes called George Gunton, have reached New Orleans. At least we know not to what else to attribute the following masterly pen-sketch by the New Orleans "Times Democrat":

> "Nothing like fake statistics for giving a fellow a reputation for scholarship dirt cheap," chuckled an astute citizen. "Statistics are the most impressive things in the world, and the beauty about 'em is that nobody dares to contradict you. I've been working the scheme for several months, and my stock has advanced about a thousand points a day. How do I do it? Well, to illustrate the thing, I was standing in a crowd on Canal street recently watching the big piledriver hammering down the walls for the drainage canal. 'Whole lot of power there,' remarked a gentleman at my elbow, as the weight came down, biff! 'Immense,' I replied, 'and, by the way, I was just making an interesting calculation in regard to it. Do you know, Sir, that blow is exactly equal to 9,562 carpenters driving tenpenny nails into two-inch oak planks with fourpound steel hammers?' The man looked startled. 'You don't say so, professor?' he replied, respectfully, and presently I saw him whispering to the others, who sized me up with awe. The other day when it was raining I joined a group under an awning. 'Bad day,' said somebody. 'Yes,' I returned. 'I was amusing myself a few minutes ago in figuring up the quantity of water that has fallen in the city limits between 6 a. m. and noon.' At that the other fellows got interested. 'How much was it, doctor?' asked one of 'em. 'Poured into a row of ordinary half-pint tumblers,' I said, impressively, 'it would make a line once and two-fifths around the globe; it would fill a thirteen-inch gun barrel reaching from here to a point about nine miles east of Copenhagen; it would quench the matutinal thirst of 9,468,941 Kentucky Colonels the day after Christmas; it would barely go into a tank 4,562 kilometers long and 2,411 millimeters wide.' By Jove! You ought to have seen those fellows' eyes stick out! When they see me now they all touch their hats. I squelched a smart Alec at our table that the pies consumed annually in New Orleans would form a column, piled one above the other, precisely 12,622 miles high. 'Oh! I admit it leaves about sixteen pies over,' I said, when he ventured a question, 'but that's only 34 dekometers, and too small to compute.' That settled him. Now I'm the accepted authority of the establishment on everything from hash to hydraulics. I've found it a good idea, by the way, to use the decimal system whenever possible. It mixes 'em up when you begin to talk about millimeters and hectometers and gives a fine flavor of learning to your remarks. I never ran across a fellow yet who dared to question a statement in decimals. If I keep up this statistician racket until Summer I wouldn't be surprised if they offered me a chair in one of the colleges."

Who could have posed for this picture and statue if not Green Goods, a prominent Roosevelt candidate for Commissioner of Labor, whose "statistical pranks to impose upon the ignorant have, though in opposite senses, been long the delight of both Socialists and Capitalists?

Commenting upon the debate on the political resolutions introduced by the "Social Democracy" at the A. F. of L. convention, the "Social Democratic" St. Louis, Mo., "Brauer-Zeitung" makes this damaging admission on its "English" page:

> Not one word of all the arguments against Socialist political tactics is applicable in view of our own party, the Social-Democratic party of America.

It is not often that the "Brauer-Zeitung" rises above the alcoholic fumes that befuddle its brains as it does in this case; or is this, perhaps, an instance of "in beero veritas," of truth leaping out of the drunken man's mouth?—Yes, indeed, nobody at the "convention" or elsewhere, the "Social Democrats of America" not excepted, takes the "Social Democratic party" serious. If the topic is Socialism, only the S. L. P. is considered, all else is known to be humbug.

The parallel, drawn below, by the Minneapolis, Minn., "Tocsin" between two pulpiteers of different "drums ecclesiastic" is good:

> Cardinal Gibbons has discovered the remedy for the state of chronic warfare in the South. It is very simple. He says:
>
> "I am persuaded that a restriction of suffrage by property qualification would be a wise measure. It would be an incentive to industry, and as men are instinctively disposed to protect their own property, they will naturally vote for those rulers and public officers who, in their judgement, are most qualified to protect their property from unjust and exorbitant taxation and to promote the material prosperity of the commonwealth."
>
> Verily, the cardinal is a wise man. But how if the workingmen, black and white, object to being disfranchised? What will you do then, Cardinal? Excommunicate them?
>
> Sam Jones, the sensational Protestant evangelist, heartily agrees with the Catholic Gibbons that the cure for race troubles in the South is to be found in an effectual disfranchisement of the negroes. He says the blacks are poor and uneducated, and that they have persisted in opposing the rule of the educated and wealthy classes. If they will keep at work and let politics alone there will be no trouble. Quite right, Mr. Jones—no trouble for the rich and educated rulers. And it is easy to see that they are the only people you care for. How beautiful and affecting is this unanimity of sentiment between Catholic Cardinal and Protestant revivalist! Who says that the churches are not on the side of liberty and justice? Out with him! He's a wicked atheist.

The San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" makes this interesting contribution to the present capitalist howl about prosperity being here now:

> During the last few years the waves of prosperity have struck a pretty little school teacher named Martha Donald and she has become one of the submerged teuth. She is one of the educated proletariats and after bucking against the tiger of adversity for four long, weary years, living from hand to mouth, she at last inserted an advertisement in the "Want" column of the "Examiner" which reads as follows:
>
> "A young woman wants three meals a day for any work. (Is a graduate of Normal.) Box 3333, 'Examiner' office."

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns some time ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, $2.50.

WHAT IS CAPITAL?

[From Lassalle: English Translation Published by International Library.]

Let us take the definition of capital which has hitherto passed muster; not, of course, that childish definition of Bastiat's that capital is "the saved portion of a man's income," for that is manifestly too absurd and ridiculous; but the other definition that "capital is the instruments of labor"; or the one which is universally given by all economists, that "capital is hoarded labor"; or, if you like, a third, that "capital consists of products which are continually applied to further production."

Now look at this Red Indian in the primeval forests of America, who is out hunting for his subsistence with his bow and arrow. Is this man a capitalist? Is this bow and arrow capital? You see all the three definitions are fulfilled. The bow and arrow are unquestionably an instrument of labor. Nobody, too, can deny that it is the result of expended labor. What is more, it is a product which is continually used for further production. Yet it would be flying in the face of common sense to call that Red Indian a capitalist! You see, therefore, that somehow or other all these definitions must be incorrect.

Or perhaps you will say—and the man who would say this would say anything—"Yes, the bow and arrow is capital, and the Indian is consequently a capitalist." Then I can easily show you that that bow and arrow is not capital, neither is the Red Indian a capitalist.

To make this quite clear, imagine yourself for a moment out in the woods with just such a bow and arrow. The bow and arrow will serve to shoot game. It will—since it is an instrument of labor—also help you to carry on your work of providing for your own subsistence. But if, as I am afraid would be the case, you were to get tired in struggling through the forest with your mocassins on after the game, you will find no chance to lay out your bow and arrow at interest; and that, as all the world knows, is the distinguishing characteristic of capital. So you see that this bow and arrow, after all, is an instrument of labor, but it is not capital.

But assuming, under the impression that it was merely because your bow and arrow was hoarded labor in the form of bow and arrow that you could not make it do duty as capital—assuming, I say, that you wished to exchange it, and went, for this purpose, to barter with our original Indian. Very likely this Indian, if your bow and arrow suits him, will do a bargain with you. He will give you in exchange, say a deer he has killed, or some furs, or, if in a gold-bearing region, he may even hand you—just think of it!—a great nugget of gold. But you have no possibility whatever of making profit out of these articles where you are. In order to make these goods productive—interest or profit bearing—you must just betake yourself to other countries where matters stand on a very different, in short, on a European footing. But mark you this: in the assumed historical conditions in which you are placed you cannot possibly do any such thing. Not only so, but now, with the things for which you have bartered away your bow and arrow—your game, your furs, your fine nugget of gold—you are a deal worse off than you were with the bow and arrow, which would at least enable you to keep yourself—if you shot straight. You can grasp now—and I advise you to hold fast to it—that there are historical conditions in which there are instruments of labor, in which you may even barter or exchange, but in which, nevertheless, there is no capital.

Following, then, upon these explanations which all readers of Socialist economy know well, we can say that, although we have here instruments of labor, there is yet no capital because there is no division of labor, since the instruments of labor—the means of production on a very small scale—are in the hands of the laborer himself or at his command, or, in the other words, labor alone is itself productive. Here, then, aptly comes the statement that the independent productivity of capital, its breeding, as Shylock says, its profit-making apart from labor, is possible only under a system of division of labor, and is the consequence of that division of labor.

The Capitalist Press, or Why a Daily "People"?

[Written for THE PEOPLE by William Doran, Jersey City, N. J.]

Great advertising handbooks,
For big stores, combines and deals;
Of schemes corrupt, promoters,
And partakers of big steals.

Ye puffers and news padders,
That rich robbers own, control:
Blackmailing's Past Grand Masters,
Garble, cozen and cajole.

Ye plagues of gall, gush, bunco,
Your "issues" are not our's:
Ye all exploit the toilers
With your prostituted powers.

Praise imitation "statesmen,"
"Patriotic" blatherskites
Make thoughtless people crazy
With "we," "us" and "our rights."

Befriend the vampire "leaders"
Who will sell the workmen out.
Back up false labor movements,
Seek the straight, to kill or rout.

Then prate about "religion."
Ay, "console" the men who slave
With tales of "rest and gladness"
"After death,"—"beyond the grave."

When inquiry is rampant,
Still ignore it, bluff and fake;
"The people are so easy,"
And you think they'll never wake.

The people tire of masters
Whose exactions never cease;
'Tis war and played-out humbug
Is no substitute for peace.

The millions that are idle,
And who starve, despite your rot,
Will one day claim your millions;
You must yield, deny them not.

Your worn-out social system
Totters blindly to its fall.
Ye rascals must obey us:
Honest Workers, Shall Have All!

A FAKIR ARGUMENT.

[From the N. Y. "Vorwärts," German Organ of the S. L. P.]

The debate on Socialism in the American Federation of Labor brought out nothing new. It merely furnished an opportunity to the mouth-pieces of "Trades Unionism Pure and Simple" to authenticate their solidarity with the capitalists. Their thoughts are capitalist, their methods of argument are capitalist, they emulate the capitalists in combating Socialism; aye, they even over-trump the capitalists with lies and slander.

A favorite fraudulent argument with the capitalists towards discontented workers is well known to be the pointing out of alleged worse conditions for the workers in Europe. The Gomperites over-trump the capitalists in the manner in which they use this argument. They lyingly tell the American workingmen that the condition of the European workingman becomes ever worse; and that the reason thereof is that the European workmen are so foolish to busy themselves with the building up of a strong political organization. "The American workingmen, however," thus the lie is rounded up, "have not suffered any such decline, but, on the contrary, have enjoyed a steady improvement in their condition."

The impudent falseness of this argument has repeatedly been nailed in the Socialist press. The fakirs who peddle such fraudulent goods, are well aware of the fraud they are committing. The extensive wage conflicts, that have recently raged, have brought to light, in a manner not to be overlooked, the decline in the condition of the American workingmen. "The organizations of the coal miners, of the textile workers, of the shoemakers, of the wood workers, all of whom participated in the struggles of this year, belong to the American Federation of Labor. The Gomperites can, accordingly, not fail to be aware of the misery that has pressed harder and harder upon these labor groups from year to year and driven them to outbreaks of desperation.

One of the most remarkable wage conflicts of this year was conducted by the International Wood Workers' Union in Oshkosh, Wis. The President of this Union, Thomas I. Kidd, who represented the organization at the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor, published, in the August number of "The International Wood Worker," an account of the wages paid in the Oshkosh lumber mills. The account contains the following passages:

"Between 70 or 80 per cent. of the strikers receive $1 a day or less while at work."

"These wages were not received for every working day in the year. The mills are closed in December and usually do not open again for two months."

"This is no common strike. The men are struggling against conditions which do not prevail in any other civilized country on the globe."

"Year after year they work, each recurring twelve months or less bringing them a reduction of wages."

The downward trend of American wages has recently also been brought to public notice by a statistician, whom the trades union leaders acknowledge as authority. Carroll D. Wright has published the results of an investigation that, evidently, was undertaken for the purpose of finding material for the fraudulent argument that the capitalists, together with their pure and simple trades union understrappers, are so fond of using. The investigation refers to the movement of wages in certain industries of this country, that are above the average of wages, and the like industries in three European countries. Instead, however, of bringing out a result favorable to the United States, the material gathered goes to show that in France and Belgium wages have been steadily rising, in America, on the contrary, have been generally declining.

The figures show that (since 1881, the year when the trades organization was established that, since 1886, has called itself the American Federation of Labor,) most trades have suffered a reduction of wages. For instance: the wages of the boilermakers a reduction of from $2.66 to $2.56½; the wages of the furniture makers declined from $2.38¾ to $2.29¾; the wages of the joiners from $2.55½ to $2.47; the wages of machinists from $2.47½ to $2.41. Even in those trades where the wages in 1898 are higher than in 1881, there is by no means any evidence of a steady rise; in most of these cases the rate of wages for this year is lower than the wages of ten years ago. For instance: the wages of the carpenters are $2.52 for 1898; this is an increase of 3½ cents over 1881, but it is 4 cents below 1888.

Quite otherwise is the movement of wages in Paris, the very center of the Socialist movement in France. There, according to the claim of the Gomperites, a steady decline should be found in the condition of the workingmen. But Carroll D. Wright, who gladly would have confirmed the Gompers lie; is constrained to record a steady rise in wages for most trades.

In the trades that we have cited, as evidences of the movement of wages in America, the wages in Paris were as follows during the years 1881, 1888 and 1896:

	1880.	1888.	1896.
Tailors	$1.30¼	$1.41¼	$1.71¼
Boilermakers	1.48¼	1.48¼	1.64
Furnituremakers	1.44¼	1.49	1.65¼
Carpenters	1.37¾	1.55¼	1.55¾
Joiners	1.27	1.35	1.35
Machinists	1.34¼	1.34¼	1.33

Wright reports likewise a steady rise of wages for Belgium, one of the European countries in which the workingmen are most active in building up their Socialist party.

The Socialist movement has placed the workingmen of the European continent in a position to wrench concessions from the capitalists—and to keep them. Pure and simple trades unionism, as practised in America under the aegis of the American Federation since 1881, has not only not been able to keep such concessions as it occasionally gained, but has not even been able to protect the workingmen against a steady decline in their condition.

Such is the result that is furnished by a comparison, based upon facts, between America and Europe.

Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan.

Brother Jonathan—I have a great scheme in mind.

Uncle Sam (with a twinkle in his eye)—One of your usual great schemes?

B. J.—Don't be intolerant as usual; at least hear first what it is.

U. S.—Behold in me a man out-shining "Patience on a Monument." Let's hear!

B. J.—Will you not admit that the Socialist Commonwealth can not be established for quite a while?

U. S.—I'll admit that.

B. J.—Will you not admit that, in the meantime, it were wise to mitigate suffering?

U. S.—Admitted.

B. J.—Admitting all this you will be in sympathy with my scheme. It is to set up a co-operative store in which the workmen, affiliated with it, can get goods cheap. What say you?

U. S.—Chestnut!

B. J.—"Chestnut"?

U. S.—Yes. Probably not to you. But chestnut all the same.

B. J.—Isn't it a good thing?

U. S.—If it were, it would not be chestnut. But it is a bad thing in that it is of no effect; and, worse than that, in that it plays into the hands of false bourgeois economics; and, still worse, in that, as a rule, there is a petty schemer at the bottom of it who plans to be the sure if not the sole beneficiary of the alleged good for all. There is an ample experience on this subject in this country.

B. J.—You surprise me. What proofs have you got?

U. S.—See here. Sound or Socialist economics prove that, under the capitalist system, the share of the wealth that labor receives depends upon the supply of and the demand for labor; this evil is a result of the private ownership of the machine. If labor receives one loaf's worth of wealth it is not because of the cheapness of the loaf, or because of any other reason but because the value of the loaf represents the value of labor under supply and demand.

B. J.—Very well.

U. S.—Now then, this principle implies the other that the cheapness of things does not determine the amount of wealth labor receives. The cheaper the loaf, the lower will be the wages. In other words the Labor Question is a question of production, not consumption. Your co-operative store takes up the question from the consumer's standpoint.

B. J.—But are not workingmen consumers?

U. S.—Surely. But their poverty starts with them as producers and not as consumers. Seeing that their poverty arises from their being a merchandise, the price of which is determined by supply and demand, it is senseless to start relief at the consumers' end; relief must be started at the producers' end. Enable them to keep all that they produce, and their consumption will take care of itself. On the other hand, make goods as cheap as you like, and consumption will not be improved as long as the working class is held in wage slavery.

B. J.—Hem—

U. S.—This puzzles you; does it not? I'm not surprised. I always knew that much as you may talk of Marx you never looked into the work beyond the title page.

B. J.—Well, that may be; but in what way would my co-operative store play into the hands of false economics?

U. S.—In this way: The middle class particularly is howling about prices. It may justly do so. If prices are low it will have so much more money. If wages are one loaf of bread, and the price of the loaf goes down 50 per cent. the working class won't be in pocket the 50 per cent. saved, because its own value will thereby have been reduced, and, accordingly, its wages will fall proportionally. But if the price of the loaf goes down by 50 per cent. the middle class and the capitalists generally will be so much in pocket, because their share of wealth is not determined like that of the workingmen. It is for this reason that the middle class folks are always after cheapness, and it is a cry so delusive that it usually takes in the workers, and thereby draws their attention away from where the shoe pinches THEM, and causes them to fight the economic battles of their exploiters. To talk "co-operative stores" is to talk "cheapness"; to talk "cheapness" is to give up the law of wages or darken it; to do that is to play into the hands of the enemy.

B. J.—And you say this sort of thing has been tried before?

U. S.—Yes. Often after disastrous strikes the broken-down skates of labor leaders have set up these "co-operative" affairs. We have seen "co-operative" mines; "co-operative" laundries; "co-operative" shirt, cigarette and other factories—and all have gone to smash, the schemer back at the bottom of them, he alone profiting, while the trepanned innocents remained plucked. Wash your hands of your "great scheme." It is great only in its stupidity and its crookedness.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eigteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

LOCKING HORNS.

Comrade Meyer Goldsmith of New Britain, Conn., Tackles the New Britain "Herald."

Editor "Herald":—In a lenghty article in Friday's "Herald" you try to give Socialism a death blow. In this I make bold to say you have miserably failed. Your arguments are such that one really does not know where your premises end and where your conclusions begin, and they all, that is your arguments, seem to stand on their heads. Besides, though your article has a pretense of being scientific, a mere glance at it is enough to show an intelligent reader that you are utterly ignorant of the Socialist literature and the scientific tenets, the cardinal principles and aims of Socialism, that is, of Socialism as understood by its scientific exponents and its millions of adherents the world over.

To argue the subject with you in anything like a broad and scientific manner is therefore out of the question. We would have to start with first principles and this would take us beyond the limits of a newspaper communication. We cannot, however, help passing a few cursory remarks in regard to the most salient points of your article, which, squeezed of its water, cleaned of its chaff and freed of its meaningless phrases is reduced to the same old, worn out, thread-bare arguments. Let us see how much truth they contain.

You say that the co-existence of two conditions is not yet proof that one is the cause of the other and that only the unscientific and dissatisfied Socialists will claim that the opulence of the rich is the cause of the brutalizing, ill-paid toil of the poor. We think that if anyone is unscientific it is not the Socialists, but rather their critics. The wages of the worker and the profit of the capitalist come from the same source, the product of labor; and it is clear that the larger the profit the smaller the wages and vice versa. If, say, a Danbury hatmaker produces five hats a day; if the value of one hat covers the cost of raw material and wear and tear of machinery and the value of three hats is appropriated in the shape of profit, interest and rent, by the manufacturer, middle man, banker and landlord, it necessarily follows that our hatmaker will get no more than the value of one hat per day, that is one-quarter of the increased value.

You assert that few Socialists agree in their opinions, so vague is the whole philosophy. Did you come to this conclusion after reading the works of the Socialist master minds or the platforms of the Socialist parties of the different countries, or the proceedings of the Socialist International Congresses, or is your assertion nothing more than the invention of a heated brain? We hope that the latter is the case. Otherwise your assertion would be a willful and intentional distortion of the truth.

You boldly state that one Socialist writer declares "Property is robbery" and you ask whether Socialists, shipwrecked on Robinson Crueso's island, would claim a right to share his belongings and appropriate his prepared food, and whether this would not be equivalent to cutting off his arm or his leg, as anything produced by the exertions of a human being is part of himself. Could you kindly name the Socialist writer you quote? And as regards the question you put to the Socialists we think that a man who undertakes to criticize Socialism ought to know that the kind of property Socialists are concerned with is not articles of use or simple tools operated by single individuals but the modern gigantic machinery and industries requiring the collective effort of thousands of men. The individual owners of these machinery and industries have the power to appropriate the product of the non-owners who operate them; and this is, according to your own opinion, equivalent to appropriating one's body. This means that there is actually no essential difference between the chattel slavery of our fathers and the wage slavery of our own time and your claim that "Rights of property in our Southern slaves was the most brutal kind of robbery, but rights of property in the products of labor is wholly different," falls to the ground. Read "rights of property in the product of somebody else's labor" and the difference disappears.

You say that competition is a law of nature, as it is natural for man to seek to gratify his desire with the least exertion, and that to violate that law would mean to fly in the face of Providence. Will you kindly tell us, who obtains the most results with the same exertion—the co-operating letter carriers delivering mail according to a certain plan, or the competing milkmen having their customers scattered in all directions; the great railroads transporting freight from the Atlantic to the Pacific by means of the co-operative and disciplined labor of tens of thousands of men, or individuals who would insist on competing with each other in transporting freight across the continent by means of wheelbarrows; a great trust using the best machinery or a thousand small competing concerns? As regards flying in the face of Providence by abolishing competition, we think that this flying is already now carried on on a very great scale by the oil trust, the sugar trust, the beef trust, the tobacco trust, the copper trust and a lot of other trusts, with very gratifying results to themselves, to the detriment very often, however, of the people. Is it not time that the people should try to do this flying in the face of Providence themselves and themselves get the benefit?

Your confusion on the meaning of the word "capital" goes so far that you call Robinson Crusoe's implements and belongings capital. Wealth does not become capital until invested by its owner with a view of drawing profit, i. e., appropriating part of the product of labor of those who do not own that wealth, but have to use it. A pie placed on the table for lunch is not capital; neither is a bed used for sleeping, nor the finger nails of a savage used for digging roots, nor the simple implements of labor operated by the individual who owns them, nor a thousand dollars locked up in a safe. But a railroad, a factory, a coal mine, money lent on interest and the like are capital.

As you prate so much in your article on the rights and legal status of property, it will not be amiss to quote the following: "Private property is a creature of society, and is subject to the calls of that society wherever its necessities will require it, even to its last farthing; its contributions, therefore, to the public exigencies are, the return of an obligation previously received, or the payment of a just debt."—Benjamin Franklin. "Inasmuch as great wealth is an instrument which is uniformly used to extort from others their property, it ought to be taken away from its possessors, on the same principle that a sword or a pistol may be wrested from a robber, who shall undertake to accomplish the same effect in a different manner."—Thomas Skidmore, New York, 1829.

In conclusion I would say that it is high time that all those who think that Socialism is important enough to write about should also not forget that it is of the greatest importance to first get informed what Socialism is. Otherwise, they will either waste time in fighting wind mills, like Don Quixote, or work mischief by misleading and confusing the public mind.

M. GOLDSMITH.
Member of Section New Britain, S. L. P.

How to Organize Sections.

All persons dissatisfied with present political and economic conditions, and who believe that the land, water works, gas works, telephone, and telegraph lines, the commercial highways on land and sea, with all their appurtenances and equipments; all the mills, mines, factories, machinery, means of production and agencies of distribution, created by the efforts of the laboring class through all the centuries of the past, ought of right to be nationalized, and operated for the benefit of collective humanity, and who are convinced that the disinherited producing class can and must transform the capitalistic methods of production and distribution into a social and co-operative system, are hereby invited to identify themselves with the Socialist Labor party, which alone goes to the root of our social and economic evils.

1. Any ten persons may organize themselves into a Section provided they accept the platform and constitution of the S. L. P. and sever their connection, absolutely, with all other political parties.

2. OFFICERS TO ELECT.

1.—Organizer.
2.—Recording and Corresponding Secretary.
3.—Financial Secretary.
4.—Treasurer.
5.—Literary Agent.
6.—Chairman, each meeting.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1.—Reading of minutes.
2.—New members.
3.—Correspondence.
4.—Financial Report.
5.—Report of Organizer.
6.—Report of Committees.
7.—Unfinished Business.
8.—New Business.

4. There shall be no initiation fee charged. Amount of monthly dues is fixed by each Section. A monthly remittance of ten cents per member shall be made to the National Executive Committee.

5. A full report of the first meeting, including a list of members, with inclosure of 10 cents per capita is necessary to obtain a charter.

6. Per capita checks are furnished by the National Executive Committee at 10 cents each; such checks are pasted in monthly column on the membership card, and charged to members at such excess rate as will cover the amount of dues fixed by the Section.

7. Each Section shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month, and semi-monthly meetings for public discussion or lectures on political or economic questions.

8. Quarterly reports of the numerical strength and financial standing of members, party progress and prospects, shall be promptly sent to the National Executive Committee.

9. Any person residing in a city or town where no section of the party exists may make direct application to the National Secretary, inclosing one month's dues, and will thus be enrolled as member at large.

For pamphlets, leaflets, platforms and other information, address the National Secretary,

HENRY KUHN,
184 William street, New York City.

LABOR NEWS COMPANY,

64 East Fourth Street, N. Y.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: The Communist Manifesto	$0.10
Karl Marx: Capital, bound	2.00
Wage Labor and Capital	.05
A Discourse on Free Trade	.25
Revolution and Counter-Revolution.	1.00
The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon	.25
Frederick Engels: The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science	.05
The same in cloth, with Introduction and appendix	1.00
The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844	1.25
Ferdinand Lassalle: The Workingman's Programme	.10
What is Capital?	.05
Karl Kautsky: The Capitalist Class	.05
The Proletariat	.05
The Class Struggle	.05
The Co-operative Commonwealth	.05
H. M. Hyndman: Socialism and Slavery	.05
Marx' Theory of Value	.05
Paul Lafargue: The Religion of Capital	.05
The Right to be Lazy	.10
Evolution of Property	1.00
William Morris: A Selection from his Writings	.25
Morris and Bax: Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome	1.00
W. S. McClure: Socialism	.10
Prof. A. Schaffle: The Quintessence of Socialism	.15
David A. Wells: Recent Economic Changes and their Effects on the Production and Distribution of Wealth	2.00
Prof. D. Ritchie: Darwinism and Politics	.15
Principles of State Interference	1.00
Eugene Sue: The Silver Cross	.25
W. D. Howells: A Traveler from Altruria	.50
Edward Bellamy: Looking Backward	.50
Equality	1.25
Daniel De Leon: Reform or Revolution	.05
What Means This Strike?	.05
Report of the International Socialist Congress, held at London in 1896	.25
Proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, held at New York in 1896	.10

Catalogues sent free of charge to applicants.

New York Official Returns.

County:	Hanford 1898.	Cuno 1897.	Matchett 1896.
Albany	285	279	187
Allegheny	28	59	4
Broome	40	17	9
Cattaraugus	37	40	12
Cayuga	103	37	30
Chautauqua	65	49	17
Chenung	55	50	19
Chenango	56	29	14
Clinton	21	18	12
Columbia	19	9	3
Cortland	18	1	1
Delaware	24	18	9
Dutchess	53	66	30
Erie	1,493	808	508
Essex	19	10	4
Franklin	16	14	14
Fulton	190	151	73
Genessee	25	14	9
Green	48	21	18
Hamilton	3	...	...
Herkimer	61	38	10
Jefferson	45	25	6
Kings	4,145	3,064	3,481
Lewis	6	3	5
Livingston	20	12	4
Madison	70	53	32
Monroe	970	520	466
Montgomery	74	30	36
Nassau	28	...	...
New York	10,091	10,564	10,923
Niagara	61	47	13
Oneida	280	243	161
Onondaga	2,360	951	714
Ontario	20	24	9
Orange	135	223	57
Orleans	12	12	6
Oswego	31	16	3
Otsego	40	54	9
Putnam	7	2	9
Queens	953	1,045	774
Rensselaer	212	170	92
Richmond	216	165	138
Rockland	23	10	11
St. Lawrence	65	47	7
Saratoga	62	24	17
Schenectady	213	78	75
Schoharic	10	6	4
Schuyler	7	7	1
Seneca	13	12	3
Steuben	114	40	18
Suffolk	48	74	61
Sullivan	22	9	10
Tioga	15	15	4
Tompkins	20	14	9
Ulter	36	31	12
Warren	38	13	7
Washington	27	7	4
Wayne	16	10	8
Westchester	637	558	388
Wyoming	14	11	5
Yates	16	22	3
Totals	23,860	20,854	17,667

Kansas Official Returns.

Seventy-eight out of 105 counties give Lipscombe, the S. L. P. candidate for Governor, 646 votes. There was no vote polled in 27 counties. The counties polling a vote are the following:

Allen	5
Anderson	9
Atchison	13
Barber	5
Bourbon	63
Butler	9
Chase	2
Chautauqua	1
Cherokee	39
Cheyenne	1
Clay	5
Cloud	13
Coffy	2
Cowley	6
Crawford	118
Decatur	2
Dickinson	9
Domphan	7
Douglas	1
Edwards	2
Elk	2
Ellis	1
Ellsworth	2
Finney	5
Ford	1
Franklin	6
Geary	5
Graham	3
Greenwood	2
Harper	2
Jackson	1
Jefferson	1
Jewell	3
Johnson	18
Kingman	5
Labute	9
Lane	1
Leavenworth	17
Lincoln	2
Linn	14
Logan	5
Lyon	8
Marion	3
Marshal	2
McPherson	2
Miami	4
Mitchell	5
Montagneg	7
Neosho	3
Ness	7
Norton	3
Osage	14
Osburn	1
Ottawa	3
Philips	2
Pottawatomie	7
Rawlins	1
Reno	6
Republic	3
Rice	5
Riley	1
Rocks	2
Rush	3
Russell	1
Saline	10
Segwick	18
Shawnee	26
Sheridan	1
Sherman	5
Smith	2
Stafford	3
Summer	3
Trego	1
Wausee	1
Washington	15
Wichita	1
Wilson	10
Wyandatt	48
Total	646

Socialist Literature.

Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms, $1.50 per thousand.

1.—"What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to Workingmen, by Henry Kuhn.
2.—"Socialism," by William Watkins.
3.—"Why American Workingmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Wilshire.
4.—"Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton.
5.—"Socialism." Extracts culled from Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England."
6.—"A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt.
7.—"Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party."
8.—"An Appeal of the Irish Socialist Republican Party to the Working Class Irish of America."
9.—"An Appeal to the Workers to Enroll Themselves in the Ranks of the Socialist Labor Party."
10.—"The Class Struggle," by A. M. Simons.
11.—"Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan"; a reprint of four dialogues from THE PEOPLE.
12.—"The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party" (with comments in the following languages, four pages, English, German, French, Italian, Slavish and Jewish).
13.—"Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party Towards Trade Unions."
"The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act. (Adapted from the German.) Price, 1 cent per copy; 1,000 copies, $5.
"Women in the Past, Present and Future," by August Bebel. 25c.
"The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," by Frederick Engels. 5c.
"The Proletariat." "The Class Struggle," "The Capitalist Class," "The Co-operative Commonwealth," by Carl Kautsky, adapted by Daniel De Leon. Each 5c.
"Capital," by Carl Marx. 4 parts. Each 30c. Cloth, $1.75.
"The Eighteenth Brumaire," by Carl Marx. 25c.
"What Means this Strike?" Address delivered by Daniel De Leon in New Bedford, Mass. 5c.
"Reform or Revolution," by Daniel De Leon. 5 cents.
"Erin's Hope. The End and the Means," by James Connolly. 5c.
Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the S. L. P. 10c.
"Manifesto of the Communist Party," by Carl Marx and Frederick Engels. 10c.
"History of the Paris Commune," by Lissagaray. $3.00.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, New York, N. Y.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

A Boy in Blue Taking Observations in Porto Rico.

To THE PEOPLE.—A short account of the status of the class struggle in Porto Rico may be of interest. Having marched to and fro through different parts of the island with Uncle Sam's army of invasion, in the conquest and occupation of the island, I have had considerable opportunity to observe the conditions here, social and economic. Not being conversant with the language of the people, however, it was sometime before I learned that there was any Socialist sentiment here. I was surprised to hear that there are three periodicals, one daily, the others weekly, that are decidedly Socialistic. The trades here in San Juan seem to be well organized. The Federation of Trades, consisting of eleven unions, has a membership of 1,200. I have attended some of their meetings. They were very enthusiastic and seem imbued with the true spirit of solidarity. Fakirism does not seem to dominate them as in the old trade unions in the United States. They understand distinctly that they and their employers have no common interest. I hope to see them organized ere long under the banner of the S. L. P.

A strike among the printers is now in progress involving three offices. Meetings are held nightly, affording opportunity for propaganda by the Socialists.

The chief personage in the movement here is Santiago Iglesias, a native of Barcelona, Spain, and cousin of Pablo Iglesias, the editor of the "Socialista" of Madrid. He spent several years in Cuba until his active propaganda brought on him the persecutions of Gen. Weyler when he fled to Porto Rico. Since here he has been twice imprisoned for his fearless utterances. He was released from his last confinement by order of Gen. Henry, successor of Gen. Brooke. He is an able speaker and writer, and thoroughly conversant and in harmony with International Socialism.

The condition of the laboring people here is deplorable. Space will not permit to go into details. The worst obstacle in the way of the propagandist is the illiteracy of the workers, less than 14 per cent. of the entire population being able to read and write. Progress will be made rapidly from this on, no doubt. Under the rule of the United States the ancient methods of production now in vogue will give way to modern ones, enabling capitalism to more rapidly develop.

So we have much to hope for in Porto Rico, one of the most ancient and densely populated regions of Latin America.

J. W. McF.,
Co. I, 11th Infantry.
San Juan, Porto Rico, Dec. 27.

The Chicago "Municipalization" Discussion.

To THE PEOPLE.—Somewhat of a literary anomaly has just been witnessed in this city—a Socialist contribution admitted to the columns of a capitalist paper. The secret of it is that a written promise of publication was secured before the statement of our position on municipalization in general, and on the present municipalization issue here in particular, was drawn up. It happened in this way:

Last winter the capitalist governmental committee of this State, in session at Springfield under the name of the "Legislature of Illinois," devoted a great portion of its time to the revision of the laws relating to street railway franchises in the interests of those whom they represented. A new law was passed permitting the giving of franchises for fifty years. Formerly the limit was twenty years. The way having thus been prepared, the three principal surface railway systems of this city combined forces as a measure of economy and recently made a joint demand on the Common Council for a fifty year extension of all their franchises, though none of them expire for several years. To save the Council any unnecessary mental exertion, the lawyers of the railways considerately drew up the ordinance, granting themselves the sum of all things devoutly to be desired. Chicago and the fullness thereof for fifty years; and one of the Aldermen obligingly introduced it.

Of course, this was to some extent a bluff, demanding everything so as to get the utmost possible. The Mayor, Mr. Harrison, having political ambition and an eye to his re-election in the spring, "valiantly" announced that he would veto this measure, knowing perfectly well it would be modified before it ever came to him, or a milder one substituted. He also declared himself in favor of "municipal ownership" theoretically, at same time in the dim future, but intimated a willingness to accept a "practical" compromise measure for about twenty years.

Now, Mayor Harrison's ambitions were disquieting to the silver wing of the Democracy, by which he is distrusted. Suddenly the "Dispatch," the silver organ of the Democracy in this city, went the Mayor one better with a demand for municipalization at the expiration of the present franchises; and it followed this up with the announcement of the independent candidacy of ex-Governor Altgeld for the Mayoralty next spring, on a platform of free silver and municipal ownership. Editorially this revealed itself as merely a clever move to capture the popular vote by a pretense of radicalism. To this end municipalization was magnified into an almost universal cure all. It was to lower taxes, advance wages, and restore general prosperity through reduced fares, all at one and the same time.

At this juncture the Socialist Labor party was requested to lend a hand in the game of buncombe by the circulation of a petition. Our reply was a request for space in the "Dispatch" for a statement of our position. This proposition being accepted, the statement was drawn up; sent in, after receiving the approval of the Central Committee of the Section and was published in the "Dispatch." The statement, I notice, is the first article in THE PEOPLE of this week, just received.

As I said, the "Dispatch" published our statement as sent, but it inserted near the close of our statement the following standing article "What Municipal Ownership Will Do," which appears in the paper daily, and whose false claims are funny enough and perfidious enough to deserve being quoted:

WHAT MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP WOULD DO.

The question is repeatedly asked what benefit would the people derive from absolute municipal ownership of the street railways of the city of Chicago. Here is the answer and a few facts:

It would give the people a 2½-cent fare. Glasgow, Scotland, does even better than 2 cents.

It would give the people, under a 2½-cent fare, $18,000,000 annually to buy necessaries and luxuries, as the gross receipts of all the traction companies are $36,000,000 under a 5-cent fare. Just think of it! $18,000,000 distributed in the department and smaller stores annually! In twenty years this would mean $360,000,000 benefit which the people would get directly.

It would mean more work.

It would mean less poverty and misery; it would be justice.

It would give the street car employees higher wages, and would put hundreds more to work. Not a conductor or motorman would lose his job, and he would work shorter hours for higher pay.

It would decrease taxation at least 30 per cent.

The only people it would injure would be the few stockholders who already have been paid ten times over for all the money they invested.

Taxpayers, business men, department store proprietors, everybody—which will you have, a system which will benefit you to the extent of millions every year or a system that will benefit the millionaire stockholder who does not need more.

Something of this kind was to be expected, of course, but it only exposes their desperate straits when such petty trickery is resorted to.

As the article, however, serves to give point to our argument, its appearance in such close juxtaposition may be considered rather fortunate than otherwise. The same may be said of the flimsy editorial reply appended, notable chiefly for its total evasion of the real points at issue, and the characteristic middle class definition of revolution as "reform by violence."

As similar bogus municipalization movements are liable to cross our path in all large cities, the stand taken by Section Chicago may be of sufficient interest to the comrades elsewhere.

W. S. McCLURE.
Chicago, Dec. 31.

The Doster-Clemens Kansas Socialists.

To THE PEOPLE.—THE PEOPLE has truly pictured the methods of the old trades union movement. The Gomperses, Debses, and their clan, have about run their course. It takes THE PEOPLE'S method to make their plans miss long. We find this class of people in all parts of the country. They are as surely capitalistic in methods as the Rockefellers, the Goulds, and that lot.

We have the Clemens and Dosters in Kansas, you know they were International Socialists until the Pops elected them to trusty positions, then they joined the Leedy gang of "get all you can."

Doster says: "My judgment is that success can only be realized through the Socialist movement, but that movement is a growth and can not be accelerated by artificial means. Educative effort by the individual citizen, and not political organization is the correct plan." Before Frank Doster was elected, he believed in politics, now he believes in individual effort. (Frank, consistency is a jewel.)

It is these political fakes that retard progress; they are the tools in the hands of the capitalist class. He that cannot see beyond his individual surroundings is small potatoes.

We expect to put up a local ticket here for the spring campaign. We shall be in the field only so as to agitate and spread our principles as widely as possible. We realize the breakers ahead and propose to be ready to steer our craft through the capitalist storm with clear view and steady nerve; and we expect to anchor in a Socialist harbor in time to answer roll call with our older comrades who have mapped the charts so clearly. Kansas has the material and the will, all it needs is a clear chart.

This was one of the principal battlegrounds in freeing the land slaves. Do you think we will be logging in the wage slave struggle? We are awakening to our class interests, and as awakened proletarians we shall close up the line of pickets and shall answer any challenge of any foes.

E. D. COCHRAN.
Wichita, Kans., Dec. 30.

"As to Methods".

I.

To THE PEOPLE.—The discussion which has been started in THE PEOPLE by the editorial of Dec. 4, "As to Methods," in itself perhaps excuses the differences of conception as to its meaning; those who express themselves in accord, doing so from opposite points of view.

The first letter that appeared on the subject by Comrade Root, of Pittsburg, speaks of Comrade Barne's "Splendid Trades Union Record." What has that to do with revolutionary Socialism? We are past that. The Socialist movement cannot be made subordinate to the power of the personal attraction of any comrade in any locality; the basis of the movement being the CLASS STRUGGLE, and personal votes are no evidence of the acceptance of THAT principle.

In THE PEOPLE, Dec. 25, from views on the subject appeared: Comrade Wanhope seems to have taken a view, different perhaps from that intended by the Editor, and Comrade Eckstein seems to agree that Comrade Wanhope's conception is correct, though with opposite conclusions. From Boston come two letters, both claiming to agree with the Editor in a rather peculiar manner. Comrade Badger agrees that we ought to put our "best men" in nomination for legislative offices, and closes with the assertion that the "best" man ought to be put at the head of the ticket, while Comrade Heffernan's amazing letter unmistakably shows an impatience for "something now." In view of these contradicting conceptions, I will give MY views on the article.

The editorial in question states, "It is at least doubtful that France, Germany and Belgium would be credited with the large vote they are now credited with if, besides voting for members of parliament, they had the opportunity to vote for offices of wide-spread constituencies such as Governors and Presidents." Now is it not a fact that the comrades in Europe vote for the working class whenever opportunity offers, regardless of the possibility of success? Does not the party in France and in Germany put up candidates in districts where a property or income qualification exists, notwithstanding that such conditions preclude the possibility of success. The main object being to emphasize the class character of the movement?

The editor's protest against the comparison of votes here and in Europe is correct, but the difficulty of such comparison is not due to the character of the vote but to the nature of the institutions in the different countries. Here the entire machinery of Government is at stake in every general election, which is not the case in European countries; the capitalist factions being therefore compelled to fight for every office, compels us to face them to the utmost limits of our organization. OUR CANDIDATES for EVERY office ARE THE BEST candidates for such office to EVERY CLASS-CONSCIOUS proletarian.

The Socialist "center of gravity" is NOT the head of the ticket but the MARK AT THE HEAD OF THE TICKET, which includes the whole, in short the STRAIGHT SOCIALIST VOTE.

We cannot afford to dally with half-baked people, with fakirs, and people who are "coming our way," and the fight must be kept up against them, until they go our way, or get out of the way.

We owe no consideration to the voter of a split ticket; he must be fought until he becomes class-conscious; until then he is not to be relied on. THE PEOPLE has done good work in educating the members of the party on that GREAT PRINCIPLE; and in this city in the last capaign our speakers made it a point to express contempt for the personal vote, claiming that it is corrupting.

I do not say that everybody is a "Carey," but an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure; and we are going to stick to that line; and yet hope to elect some Socialists in the near future. Let us give full notice to the world that we watch our honest men, and rogues will take the hint.

Is not the entire propaganda of the revolutionary Socialist an effort to tear the workers away from those psychological impulses (such as the worship of success), he thoroughly understanding that the yielding to such impulses only tends to lengthen the period of bondage of the working class?

Are the psychological impulses that induce a worker to select a legislative candidate on the S. L. P. ticket, a capitalist judge to issue injunctions, a capitalist sheriff to shoot the discontented a la Hazleton, a capitalist governor (say an Altgeld) to call out the militia, born of want and an expanding intellect, or a fleeting fancy? Which? Can a candidate elected by such psychological votes claim to represent the class-consciousness of the workers?

What is the meaning to a Socialist of placing our "best" forces at the head of the ticket? Does not the whole ticket stand for the principle, and no single name represent anything but its own individuality; valueless when separated from the rest?

It is true that the Socialist vote will grow from below upwards, but that below is not located in any particular individual or locality, but in the ever expanding class-consciousness of the workers: 22,000 in '92; 36,000 in '96; 80,000 in '98. Steady, boys! Have patience! We WILL get there!

B. BERLYN.
Chicago, Ill., Dec. 29.

II.

To THE PEOPLE.—In the last issue there appeared a correspondence by Joshua Wanhope, criticising the editorial that appeared in THE PEOPLE of Dec. 4, under the heading "As to Methods."

J. Wanhope seems to be greatly alarmed about the editorial in question, and several passages occur in his letter which lead me to believe that he is under the impression that that editorial recommends a general departure from present tactics. Here are those passages:

"After a careful perusal I must say that it (the editorial) produced in my mind a state of comparative confusion, the tenor of the article seeming to antagonize the teachings hitherto expressed in the paper during the two years or so that I have been a reader of it, and I can only hope that its purpose was to awaken a healthy discussion amongst the comrades at large, and thereby more firmly establish and corroborate the methods and tactics at present followed by the party, and which have been so successful in the past."

"The strength of Socialism rests on the recognition of the class struggle, and the historical deduction therefrom, that the future belongs to the working class."

It will be seen that the editorial under discussion produced in J. Wanhope's mind "after a careful perusal" a "state of comparative confusion." And, indeed, the letter impresses me with the feeling that he was still under the pressure of that "comparative confusion" while writing it.

What is the characteristic feature of the party's present tactics? It is not necessary to indulge in generalities and commonplaces, it can be summed up in two words: AGGRESSIVENESS and NON-COMPROMISE.

Now, I venture to say, that there is not one passage in that editorial from which one could infer a recommendation of a general departure from present tactics. Nor is there any sentence which questions the truth of that aphorism that "the strength of Socialism rests on the recognition of the class struggle," etc., etc. And not only is there nothing in that editorial that questions the validity of those fundamental features of the tactics OF THE PARTY AS A WHOLE, but the very first few sentences of its second paragraph plainly warn against any possible misapprehension. It says there:

"There can be no question as to the party's tactics. The vote, everywhere, without exception, amply attests to the soundness of the party's stand. The party may leave adverse criticism upon that head to its enemies, to the blinking owls, whom the party's progress incommodes, discontents and justly alarms."

The editorial, if I understand it, simply suggests some changes in LOCAL campaign methods; it holds that for offices "theoretically reachable" the best men should be nominated. And this suggestion, believe, is sound and timely. For, the uninformed workingman who will not yet consent to cast a straight vote for our party, because, he thinks, it means throwing away his vote (and every party speaker knows that thousands of workmen refuse to vote our ticket on that ground only), yet this very same man WILL vote for any particular office "theoretically reachable." And the best man will always make the most vigorous, intelligent and most successful campaign.

J. BERNSTEIN.
New York, Dec. 28.

III.

To THE PEOPLE.—Your editorial article "As to Methods" has aroused a great deal of comment both for and against. There are those who condemn it as a radical departure from the policy hitherto followed by the party, and there are others who hail it with joy as a darling expression of what they have all along wished for in the innermost recesses of their hearts, but lacked the courage to avow openly. Both sides fail to understand the situation of which the article mentioned is the expression.

It is perfectly true that our vote is not of the same quality as the European vote. Those who think that every vote cast for Socialist candidates in France or in Germany stands for a convinced Socialist, are greatly in error. The vote for municipal candidates in France is largely ahead of the vote for candidates to the Chamber. Why? Because many workingmen prefer to vote for a Socialist when he stands a chance of election, but prefer to vote for a Radical when the Socialist stands no chance: they refuse to cast "platonic" votes. The smaller vote for Deputies to the Chamber represents Socialists of the firmer sort, while the excess over the vote for municipal candidates represents the number of those who are not yet thoroughly assimilated by the movement. Is it not, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the vote for President of the French Republic or for Prefects of Departments would be even smaller? And it is but natural that it should be so. Socialism is not a petrified principle drawing its strength from tradition. It is a growing movement constantly gaining raw recruits and assimilating fresh materials. Moreover, intellectual unripeness is not the only explanation of this; there is a powerful economic factor working in the same direction. With the extension of machinery and the centralization of capital, fresh masses are hurled into the organized battalions of the proletariat, and these retard the movement of the army as a whole. That which most powerfully contributes to the increasing strength of the proletariat—the progressive increase of its numbers—at the same time impels it in its march and is a drag on its development.

A vote for a candidate who stands a chance of election has, therefore, this twofold meaning: on the one hand, it denotes the growth of the party; and the other hand, the unripeness of the voter. The recommendation "As to Methods" cannot therefore be taken in an absolute sense. The party has thus far laid special stress on the straight vote, the vote for an abstraction, the principle. And it has done so rightly. In the comparatively backward state of the movement here, the most important work is the building up of a nucleus of an army THAT NEVER SURRENDERS. This has been the main work of the party hitherto, and taking the country as a whole this must be its main work in the near future. But the army must be taught to conquer and to retain its conquests, to capture the public powers and to use them effectively for the overthrow of capitalism. This should be done wherever there is the above-mentioned invincible nucleus, WHEREVER THERE ARE TRIED COMRADES IN SUFFICIENT NUMBERS, wherever an outpost of capital can be captured and retained. There are not now many such places: New York is not like Washington. But their number will increase from year to year and no opportunity should be lost.

The article in THE PEOPLE came neither too late nor too soon. It is the expression of the growing strength of the party revealed in the last elections. It denotes a departure, and yet is not really a departure, for it is the unfolding of the party's policy which will show similar "departures" at every stage of its progress. It should not shock the "narrow bigots," nor is there cause for excessive joy to those who regard themselves as "broad" and "tolerant." Through all its various phases it is the same policy of proletarian, revolutionary Socialism.

H. SIMPSON.
New York, Dec. 24.

LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

S. M. C., NEW YORK.—The story may be good enough for a literary magazine; not for THE PEOPLE. It is simply "clever" without intrinsic merit, and is even harmful in that it implies a wholly wrong foundation for strikes.

E. O. C., WICHITA, KANS.—The party's agitators always pay their way as they go with the funds furnished by the party. It were odd for a party candidate to travel on passes. He can not do so without putting himself under obligations to a corporation, and that would be decidedly entangling.

A. P., NEW YORK.—The Ruskin Colony can not be a "Socialist Colony." There is no such thing as a Socialist Colony. All such things are, in fact, denials of Socialism, which demands integral co-operation as the only means to solve the Social Problem. There are some good people in the place but they are deceived; and many others were duped down-right.

G. A. E., DETROIT, MICH.—In view of the many complaints that formerly used to come in against the publishing in THE PEOPLE of State Committees' and others' financial reports, the N. E. C. ordered these to be discontinued as taking up too much space, and that the reports be sent direct to the Sections concerned. This order was at the time duly published in these columns.

R. B., COLUMBUS, O.—The only "union wreckers" we know of are the corrupt and ignorant Labor Fakirs. They have wrecked the trades union movement in the land, made it contemptible and impotent.

F. J., DENVER, COLO.—Shall answer in full as soon as able.

C. E. W., WORCESTER, MASS.—The quotation "Segui il tuo corso, e lascia dir la gente" means: "Pursue your undeterred career, regardless of what people may say." The question was answered once before in these columns.

Shall answer the second question later.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$778.66
C. E. Thompson, New York City	1.00
Section Buffalo, N. Y., a New Year's gift to the G. A. F.	10.00
A. Schirmer, Frohna, Mo.	.25
Total	$789.91

HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

WAITERS, COOKS, ETC.,

Their Present Condition and Outlook, and Their Duty to Their Class.

There is a very large body of wage workers composed of women and men, young and old, white and black, representing all nations and creeds, also the various social grades of existence that are made necessary by the present capitalist system of society.

This large body is often designated by different names, for example, cooks, waiters, stewards, butlers, footmen, bartenders, and other persons whose avocations, in public and private service, brings them into closer relations with human society than any other body or bodies of wage workers in society to-day.

Representatives of this body will be found serving all other representatives of human activity, in the peaceful camp of the explorer, on the battlefield, in the stately mansions of the wealthy, in the sick chamber, in the public banquet halls, in the slums, in the public and private hospitals, in the palatial hotels and restaurants, in the workingman's restaurants, in the workingman's boarding houses, on the small sailing craft and on the ocean palace steamers, in fact everywhere on land and sea, on lake and river, and in the National and State halls of legislature will be found representatives of this very important body of male and female workers. I am one of these. I desire to have it known that this large body of workers are destined to play an important part in the coming Social Revolution.

To-day we are disunited, large members of us are only employed at intervals or certain seasons of the year, at very low wages, very excessive hours of work, requiring a docility, a patience, and a general intelligence, and an understanding of human fancies and proclivities, that is hardly requisite in any other service.

We are disunited, we are discontented, we shall remain so until we become class-conscious, when we learn that we are an indispsable arm of the class-conscious workingman's movement we will be united in it and with it.

We will then be contented in the sense that no matter how dense the underbrush and briars be that capitalist society has placed across the path to a higher plane of existence, we will feel the encouragement that a class-conscious workingman feels when he stands shoulder to shoulder with his fellow-workingman and with the class-conscious ballot of the Socialist Labor party, determined to trample down the brush and briars of capitalist criminality, stupidity, and ignorance, and march on the highest state of existence ever fought for—the Socialist Commonwealth. Many of us are extremely poor, many of us with wives and families labor hard and live very frugally in order to eke out a precarious existence. Some of us are, the present awful condition of the working class considered, in comparatively easy circumstances, all of us know that our condition as a class is growing worse and cannot be otherwise under capitalist rule.

We certainly know that the introduction of labor-saving machinery into every industry and trade calls for fewer workers and requires a simple knowledge to work it, thus throwing an ever increasing number into the very large army of unemployed, who under this capitalist system will always be a constant menace of a further reduction in wage for all wage slaves. "The Masters of the Bread" cannot, if they would, change this condition because we support it, we desire better conditions but we do not vote for them.

No other body of workers have so good an opportunity to learn the reasons why want and the fear of want remains like a nightmare over us, this too in an era that is able to produce the greatest of plenty of the good things of life in the shortest time ever known. We know that thousands of our fellow workers have to work underground in kitchens, etc., where little or no effort is made to supply cool, refreshing air and other conditions to make their hours of labor less irksome, we know that individual complaints or suggestions made to remedy defects often lead to the discharge from employment of those courageous enough to suggest improvement. Now there is only one way to better our condition, and this way is not a visionary scheme of trying to regulate the wage and the working day while the means of employment are controlled by this whose interests are diametrically opposed to ours, we must recognize that the one who has only labor power to sell must always submit to those to whom he must sell his labor power or starve, under this system you can find no other alternative, those of us who are fortunate in having steady employment cannot be insensible to the pressure about us of those seeking employment. Those seeking employment at $50 per month will displace those getting $75; those offering their services for $25 per month will displace those getting $50. Many waiters are hired for only the meal hours, morning, noon, and evening, receiving their meals and perhaps $2.50 per week; these will be succeeded by those who will be glad to do the work for their meals alone; these, in turn, will be succeeded in interant jobs by those who will live on one meal per day; this is actually done now by men and women who find it impossible at times to do otherwise. This competition for a bare existence can only be wiped out by first wiping out the capitalist system by the united effort of all wage workers, through the means of the Socialist Labor party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

Not many years ago an American delegate to the International Socialist Congress visited Brussells, in Belgium, and while there he witnessed the formation of a waiters' and hotel help "Socialist Union," the numbers were small and financial resources almost null, he again visited them a few years ago, at the depot a few of the original members met him, they escorted him to a magnificent four-story building, in the lower stories were halls, banquet room, etc., all elegantly furnished; it was owned, used, and controlled by employed and unemployed members of their calling (waiters, etc.), all belonging to the Socialist Union.

Thus they have improved their condition and set an example for others.

While they have done this they still continue to work zealously for the Socialist movement, their final aim is to bring about the Social Revolution that will finally emancipate them from wage slavery and the evils that follow in its train.

Now we know that even under this capitalist administration hundreds of millions of dollars are appropriated to erect armories and buildings for political uses, i. e., capitalist legislation halls; under a Socialist administration it would be easy to erect public restaurants, hotels, etc., furnished with all modern improvements, wherein the hours of daily labor for our craft would not exceed five hours per day and would eventually be reduced to half that time; the workers in these establishments would elect their monitors, if they so desired, and all would receive the same remuneration, and every member of the Commonwealth frequenting these places would be better served and they would get purer and better food and drink than can be generally obtained under this present planless system.

The writer of this has had to work on an average fifteen hours per day for more than twenty years, and was so prevented from obtaining the time necessary to obtain a full education; still, this is not a detriment to a clear understanding of this social question; in fact, since I learned the principles of Socialism and became class-conscious, I feel more satisfied with this knowledge than if I possessed only the capitalistic education of most of the educated fools whom I meet in capitalist society.

For many years past we have witnessed labor struggles conducted by the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, many of these were of gigantic proportions, our avocations were hardly considered by the strikers or their leaders, because we are not organized, though numerically we are a very important body of workers. It would be suicidal for us to organize under either of the above heads, we know that the politicians in the capitalist parties laugh in their sleeves at the stupid efforts of labor leaders who try to have labor legislation enforced. There has never been a labor platform in the political field until the Socialist Labor party nailed theirs to the mast-head of their gallant ship in 1890.

The labor leaders in old trades unionism cannot be trusted, because they rely upon the capitalist class for justice, the latter cannot give justice to the working class unless it votes against its own life; this the capitalist class will never do, besides it has trouble enough of its own, therefore the working class must support its own political party and organize on class-conscious lines in harmony with the Socialists Labor party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

Ten cents per month from the waiters' bartenders and kindred occupations in Boston and adjacent cities would soon create a fund sufficient to purchase and furnish a house suitable for headquarters, employment bureau, etc., for members of a union that might be styled "Public and Private Service Union No. 1."

Hoping this may stir our fellow workers to action on these lines,

I remain,

"HOTEL HELP."

Boston, January 1.

OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Bandlow, 193 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.—National Executive Committee—Secretary George Moore, 61 Ryde street, Montreal.

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Session of Jan. 3, with H. Stahl in the chair. The financial report for the week ending Dec.31 showed receipts in the amount of $58.55; expenditures, $90.93.

A committee was present from Cigarmakers' Union No. 90, presenting a communication for immediate publication in THE PEOPLE. Resolved, to turn the matter over to a committee. Carried. Brown and Malkiel were elected. Malkiel reported that a store had been secured for the Labor News Company in E. 23rd street, near Third avenue, a very favorable location, on a one year's lease. Approved. Resolved, to elect an Advisory Board for the supervision of the business of the Labor News Company, the Board to consist of Brown, Malkiel and Simpson.

The answer to the Putney letter was read and approved, the same to be inserted in the minutes:

New York, Jan. 3, 1899.

Mr. Squire E. Putney, Somerville, Mass.

Sir:—We have your letter of the 19th ultimo, advising that "our" National Executive Committee enter into a conference with the National Council of the Social Democracy, for the purpose of bringing about a union of what you are pleased to call "the two Socialist parties."

By "Social Democracy" you mean no doubt, as is to be inferred from the context of your letter, the so-called Social Democratic party, the offspring of the defunct Social Democracy and the dumping ground for expelled members of the S. L. P.

If your letter contained but this advice, we might dismiss the matter without further ado, attributing to your confusion of thought the statement that there are in this country "two Socialist parties," and to your ignorance on our party organization the proposition that "our" National Executive Committee confer with another political party. But there are in your letter, other points, that should be brought to the notice of every member of the S. L. P.

Very unlike the statesman, who is said to have loved treason, but despised the traitor, you seem to be in love with both treason and traitor; with both, the dastardly act, and the man who perpetrated it.

You say that, among others, "Mr. Carey stands before the country as an honest and able exponent of Socialism"; you say also that, "when he (Carey) joined the Social Democracy his Section went with him, and the body which nominated conducted his campaign, was the responsible body to discipline if discipline was necessary," that "only one act of his while in the city government of Haverhill has ever to my knowledge been charged against him; viz., his vote for a new armory." You then add: "And pray, what does that amount to? As long as the capitalist system lasts we shall need soldiers and policemen, and are those who approve of proper accommodations to be condemned?"

That an enemy of the Socialist Labor party should laud a man like Carey as "honest," in the sense in which you apply the term, is as natural as it is unnatural for a Socialist to hold that view. And the S. L. P. man who does hold and express that view, thereby photographs himself so completely that it would seem a waste of words and would weaken the effect to say any more about it.

But most remarkable is your statement, considering that, unfortunately, you are still a member of the S. L. P., that a public officer, elected on the ticket and upon the platform of the S. L. P., owes no allegiance to the party at large and, that, if he but succeeds in poisoning the minds of and wheedling into line with his schemes the local organization that nominated him and conducted his campaign, he may betray the party and yet not commit treason. Thus, according to your line of reasoning, if reasoning it be, a man with treason in his heart, may have himself elected by the S. L. P.; as soon as elected he may, by a snap meeting, notifying only his pals and not notifying those likely to oppose him, as was done by Carey, pull a portion of the Section out of the party into another political organization, and, forever after, "stand before the country as an honest (?) and able exponent of Socialism."

But, Mr. Putney, you cap the climax when, in relation to Carey's vote for a new armory, you say: "And pray, what does that amount to? As long as the capitalist system lasts, we shall need soldiers and policemen, and are those who approve of proper accommodations to be condemned?"

And pray, Mr. Putney, did you ever hear of the Socialist contention that there exists in modern society an irrepressible class struggle between the class of the capitalists and the class of the workers? Did it ever dawn upon you, Mr. Putney, that this capitalist class, in possession of all economic power and in possession of all the powers of State, in anticipation of the coming uprising of the working class, exploited by it, seeks to fortify its position in such manner as to eventually be able to beat down the workers by force of arms? Did it ever occur to you that armories, increased armies, improved weapons and the like are provided for with an eye single to such emergency? Surely as long as the capitalist system lasts, not we, but they, the capitalists, will need soldiers, etc., but is it for us to provide them with the means of suppression? Is it for us to "approve of proper accommodations?" There can be but one answer to this. The man who, calling himself a Socialist, votes into the hands of that criminal capitalist class additional weapons, is not only a traitor to the party that elected him and which he deserted, but he is worse, a traitor to the entire working class.

As an argument your contention is absurd and may be expressed by this simile: As long as we have with us a highwayman, we must provide him with a gun and with slingshot. As a sentiment, your contention is infamous, Mr. Putney.

You also have much to say about the "petty viciousness of many in our party, who, by their clamor and jealousy drive their 'betters' (?) out of the party and continue their mean tactics because these people, instead of going where their 'defamers' would like them to (into a capitalist party), organize 'another Socialist' party with different tactics and methods."

Even if there was a shadow of truth in your declamations, an admonition of this sort would come with ill grace from a man who has shown himself, as you have done, a defender of a traitor and an apologist of treason, but, Mr. Putney, are not you guilty of the very thing you falsely charge others with? Was it not you, who, at the last Massachusetts State convention, was shown to have defamed the character of a comrade and, when called upon to substantiate your whisperings, did you not fail to do so and were you not compelled to take back-water?

But if we do take your argument as it stands, you cannot truthfully show us a single person, of those you have in mind, who either left the party or was made to leave it, and whose defection did not leave the party better and purer to the extent of his leave-taking.

We do not care to here enter upon what you have to say upon the form of our organization. That form of organization is the work of the party itself, not the work of this committee, and the party alone can make whatever changes may seem advisable in the light of experience; neither do we care to discuss with you the present policy of the party, partly because that too has been fixed by the party at large, and partly because your opinions on that subject can scarcely be considered of value.

When a man holds, as you do, that "reform was the inception of labor unionism," he shows conclusively that he has not the faintest conception of the foundation upon which economic movements of the workers rest and that he certainly is not competent to give advice upon this most important subject.

In conclusion we feel impelled to give utterance to our feeling of surprise that a man like you, who so palpably belongs to "our betters," should choose to remain with the S. L. P. Being flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone, his place is with them, not with us.

For the National Executive Committee,
HENRY KUHN, Secretary.

Section Newburgh, N. Y., reported the expulsion of Joseph Leeper for having run on the Democratic ticket at the last election.

Resolved to call upon all the S. L. P. State Committees to aid the National organization in disposing of the Socialist Almanac. The last National Convention charged the National Executive Committee with the publication of the Almanac and the party organization should see to it that the great financial burden placed thereby upon the N. E. C. be adequately distributed. State Committees, in all their communications to their respective Sections should urge them to push the sale of the Almanac, ask for reports as to what is being done and send the gist of such reports to the National Executive Committee.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secretary.

National Board of Appeals, S. L. P.

Section Detroit, Mich., is hereby notified that Comrades P. Friesema, Jr., and M. Meyer have appealed from the decision of the Section, suspending them from membership. The Section is requested to submit its reasons for the action within four weeks from date of this publication.

Section Buffalo is again requested to submit its reasons for suspension of Comrade H. Sawitzka and others, who have appealed, within four weeks from date of this publication.

ROBERT BANDLOW, Secretary.

Connecticut.

NEW HAVEN.—Comrade Moritz Ruther is to speak here on Jan. 8, in the afternoon, in Carpenter's Hall, 781 Chapel street. These agitation meetings will continue until elections in April every second and fourth Sunday.

Indiana.

MUNCIE.—On Sunday evening, Jan. 8, 1899, our Section will hold a family entertainment in their hall. All members with families will be charged one (1) dollar, and single members 50 cents; outsiders as per tickets to be sold for the refreshments which will be served. The object is to raise money for our campaign fund so that speakers may be procured whenever and wherever desired.

Massachusetts.

INSTRUCTION FROM S. C. C.—Sections organized at the time the S. L. P. candidate for Governor received 3 per cent. of the total vote cast for Governor must organize into a city or town committee by electing a chairman, secretary, treasurer, and such other officers deemd necessary. This must be done in cities during the month of January, 1899; in towns between the first day of January and the first day of March, 1899. Cities and town committees must within ten days after organization send list of officers and members to the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, City or Town Clerk, and to the Secretary of Mass. State Committee of the S. L. P.

L. D. USHER, Secretary.

New York.

TO THE MEMBERS OF SECTION NEW YORK, S. L. P.—Comrades: You are hereby called upon to elect new delegates for the ensuing six moths to the General Committee, which will meet on Saturday, Jan. 7, 1899, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street, New York City. Each subdivision of the Section is entitled to one delegate, and an additional delegate for every 20 good standing members or major fraction thereof, based upon the membership report ending Dec. 31, 1898. You are further called upon to make nominations for a National Secretary and seven members of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P., for the year of 1899. Any member in good standing residing in the City of New York (Greater New York) can be nominated. These nominations, with the seal or name of the Secretary of the organization attached thereto, must be sent to the undersigned no later than Jan. 21, 1899. The addresses of such nominees, if known, should also be sent. The regular meeting of the General Committee should have been held on Jan. 14, but owing to the Masquerade Ball of the "Abendblatt" on that evening, the meeting has been changed to January 7.

For the General Committee,
L. ABELSON, Organizer.

BROOKLYN.—Lucian Sanial will lecture on "Territorial Expansion" at Wurzler's Hall, 315 Washington street, this Sunday evening.

Ohio.

Dayton, O., Dec. 29, 1898.

Resolutions of respect to our late Comrade William Watkins of Dayton, Ohio:

RESOLVED, That in the death of William Watkins, our comrade and fellow worker in the science of Socialism,—the true science for the amelioration of the present abnormal and blithing conditions, the true science of Government,—the Socialists of Dayton, the State, the country and the world at large have lost one of its stanchest advocates, most erudite scholars and moral supporters.

RESOLVED, That the family have our heartfelt sympathy in their bereavement, and that their loss is ours as that of all lovers of mankind.

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the family, THE PEOPLE, the "Vorwaerts," and the State Committee, S. L. P., of Cleveland, O.

CONRAD J. SCHOEN,
JOHN OCKELMAN,
WM. E. NEIN,
H. F. ROBERT,
JOS. EHRHARD,
CHAS. F. LANTZ,
J. S. BRADLEY,
Committee on Resolutions.

Rhode Island.

A State Convention of the S. L. P. in Rhode Island will be held Friday, Jan. 27, 1899, at 8 p. m., in Textile Hall, 1955 Westminster street, Providence, R. I., to nominate a State ticket for the election in April, to take action on the personnel of the State Committee, and to transact any other pary business.

By order of State Committee,
8,15,22 J. WITTUM.

A meeting of Providence Section, S. L. P., will be held in Textile Hall, 1955 Westminster street, Providence R. I., on Friday, Jan. 27, 1899, immediately on the adjournment of the State Convention, to nominate a General Assembly ticket for the election in April and to transact any Section business.

L. SILVERBERG.
Secretary City Committee Providence Sections, S. L. P. 8,15,22

General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A.

The regular meeting of the General Executive Board was held on Thursday evening, Dec. 29 at the headquarters, 23 Duane street, Members present: Murphy, Vogt, Luck, Boudin and Brower.

The minutes of last session read and approved. Committee from L. A. 81, Pressmen and Feeders, requested the Board to take action upon the resolution passed at the Buffalo Convention as they understood from the report of the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. that the matter had been referred back to the Board. Comrade Murphy, who was deputized by the Board to represent it before the N. E. C. stated that owing to conflicting statements the matter was referred back to this Board to make a thorough investigation. It was decided to appoint a special Committee of two to investigate. The complaint of L. A. 81 against Steindler was also referred to the same committee to investigate.

Communications: From Fred Bennetts, of Yonkers, in relation to L. A. 43; from Louisdale, of New Bedford, Mass., in relation to the consolidation of the three English speaking Locals which was indorsed by the old Board.

Communications were also received from H. Wehner, Secretary D. A. 8, Boston, Mass.; Julian Pierce, Washington, D. C.; Matthew Maguire, Paterson, N. J.; A. H. Spencer, Vancouver, B. C.; Alex. McCullouch, Manchester, Va.; Comrade Ashplant, London, Ont.; Comrade Fiell, Columbus, O.; Comrade Shultz, St. Louis, Mo.; Frank Kocher, Woodville, Pa., and Comrade Dillon, of Marion, Ind., asking general information and forwarding dues, etc.

The secretary stated that the Locals and Districts of Greater New York which he had visited during the past two weeks all favored the issuing of an appeal for voluntary contributions for a special organizer's fund; the secretary to draw up the appeal.

The question of Comrade Keep's trip to Rhode Island on behalf of the Textile Workers' District Council was then considered and the secretary was instructed to write to D. A. 3, of New Bedford, Lawrence, Holyoke, and Fall River in relation to Comrade Keep's trip.

The secretary was instructed to have the amendments of the Buffalo Convention printed. It was decided that Sec. 2, paragraph 5, of Article 4, shall be construed to mean that any member in good standing of a Local Alliance attached to a District shall be entitled to nomination for delegate to the convention of the S. T. & L. A.

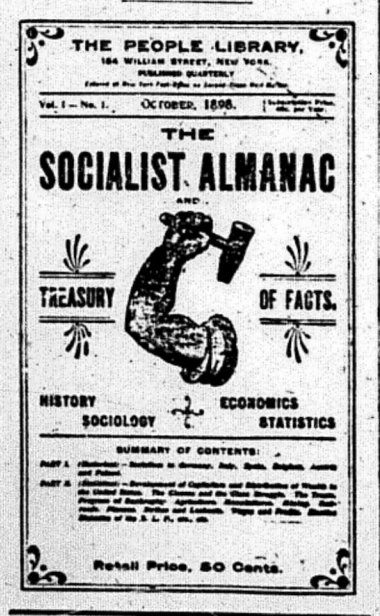
The Board instructed the secretary to notify all Locals that after Jan. 1 the per capita tax must be paid monthly.

It was also decided to request the Districts to appoint a District Auditor, whose duties shall be to examine the financial books of all Locals and to instruct the secretaries in compiling the monthly reports.

L. A. 150, Bohemian Mixed Alliance, requested the label for the Bohemian paper the "Pravda."

W. L. BROWER, Gen. Secretary.

ARTHUR KEEP'S TOUR IN RHODE ISLAND.—Sunday, Jan. 8, Music Hall, Pascoag, 2:30 p. m.; Sunday, Jan. 8, Textile Hall, Providence, 8 p. m.; Monday, Jan. 9, Mule Spinners' Hall, Pawtucket, 8 p. m.; Tuesday, Jan. 10, Granite Cutters Hall, Westerly, 8 p. m.; Wednesday, Jan. 11, tailors' meeting, Liederkranz Hall, North Main street, Providence, 8 p. m.; Thursday, Jan. 12, mixed trades meeting, Textile Hall, Providence, 8 p. m.



I Would Like

TO KNOW SOME THING ABOUT

SOCIALISM

AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

Therefore I will send for and get a FREE sample copy of that UP TO DATE Socialist paper

THE CLASS-STRUGGLE

Published weekly at 117 Turk St., San Francisco, Cal. Price per year 50 Cts., 6 months 25 Cts., 3 months 15 Cts.

THE PEOPLE'S New-Years Greeting for 1899.

is oul. It is simple in design but very striking and full of effect.

Against a background, dirty from the thick smoke from the many long factory chimneys, rises the muscular figure of a young workingman, holding in his left hand a laurel wreath stating the number of votes cast this year for the S. L. P., and in the uplifted right the weapon with which the victory has been wrung—the Socialist Hammer. The expression in the face as well as the whole attitude is bold, full of determination and embodying in a very forcible way the aggressiveness and militant spirit of our movement and of THE PEOPLE. Suitable inscriptions surround the figure and on the sides are calendar tables.

The colors are very well applied and it presents altogether a very impressive ensemble.

PRICE 10 CENTS, sent to any address.

Daily PEOPLE Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$2,279.73
Salomon Hoffman, Soc. Lit. & Ben. Society, N. Y.	.75
James Stormont, Birmingham, Ala.	.50
Wm. Riesenberg, Chicago, Ill.	.86
Weltman, New York City	3.00
Total	$2,284.84

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secretary.

Workm. Sick & Death Benefit-Fund, Br. 17, East N. Y.

General meeting, Wednesday, January 11th, at 8 p. m., at headquarters.
Order of Business: Election of Officers and other important matters.
Non-appearance, 25 cents.
380 THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Socialist Mass Meeting

At Carpenter Hall, 781 Chapel St

Sunday, Jan. 8th, 1899, at 3.00 P.M.

Speaker: MR. MORITZ RUTHER, Socialist alderman of Hyoke, Mass.

N. B.—The Socialist Labor party of New Haven will hold open discussion meetings in the above hall, every 2nd and 4th Sunday in each month. A different speaker will address each meeting, after which the discussion of the question will be open to all. 378

—THE—

Progressive Workingmen's Societies of North New York

will hold their Annual Spring Festival at Ebling's Casino, St. Anns avenue and 156th street, Saturday evening, April 22, 1899.

All progressive organizations and S. L. P. Branches are earnestly requested not to arrange any affair on this date. 381

I. Goldmann's Printing Office,

cor. New Chambers and William Sts.

works with Type Setting Machines

German and English.

MORRIS HILLQUIT,

Attorney at Law,

320 Broadway, Telephone: 171 Franklin.

BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM,

949-955 Willoughby Av.

(Formerly 61-63 Myrtle Street.)

Meeting Rooms. Large Hall for Mass Meetings. Rooms open for Balls and Pic-Nics

Workmen Patronize Your Own Home!

Jacob Herrlich & Bro.,

Undertakers & Embalmers,

506 6th Str., near Avenue A.

Telephone Call: 1173 Spring. 337

BRANCH: 327 E. 86th Str.

JOHN OEHLER'S Steam Printing.

87 Frankfort Street 87

Cor. Pearl St., Fr. Kl Square E. R. R. Station

Orders will be taken at 116 E. 5th street, betw Avenue A and First Ave., New York City. 145

DR. C. L. FURMAN, DENTIST,

121 Schermerhorn Str., Brooklyn, N. Y

Trades' and Societies' Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE: 23 Duane street, Room 96, New York City. General Secretary: William L. Brower. Financial Secretary Murphy. General Executive Board Meetings: 1st, 3d and 5th Thursday evenings at 8 p. m. Secretary Board of Appeals: Max Keller, 1044 Hope street, Philadelphia, Pa. 339

CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF NEW YORK. Meets at 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 E. 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the Corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 23

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. The County Committee representing the Section meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in the hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J. 189

21st WARD, BRANCH 2, S. L. P., Brooklyn. Lectures on political, economic and social questions at the Club House, 887 Myrtle avenue, every Sunday evening. Regular meetings every first and third Monday. 367

CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICIANS' UNION). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei. 38

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL UNION No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street. —District I (Bohemian), 331 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 10 Stanton street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III meets at the Clubhouse, 206 East 86th street, every Saturday at 7:30 p. m. —District IV meets at 342 West 42d street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m.

EMPIRE CITY LODGE (MACHINISTS), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Secretary: PETER STAPLE. 273

GERMAN WAITERS' UNION OF NEW YORK. Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. Telephone Call: 1751 Spring street. 334

MUSICAL PROTECTIVE ALLIANCE, NO. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 East 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Aug. Lantz, Corr. Sec'y, 79 E. 4th street. 241

METAL SPINNERS' UNION OF NEW YORK AND VICINITY meets every second and last Friday in the month at 8:30 o'clock at 231-233 E. 33rd street. Initiation fee after January 1, 1899, will be $2. 332

SOCIALIST SCIENCE CLUB, S. L. P., 34th 35th A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d ave. and 149th street. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

SKANDINAVIAN SECTION, S. L. P., Meets second and fourth Sunday of every month at 10:30 o'clock a. m., at Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 158-160 3d avenue, New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, Scand. Am. Arbetaren.

PROGRESSIVE CLOTHING CUTTERS' & TRIMMERS' UNION, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A. Headquarters, 64 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum. Regular meeting every Thursday evening at 8 p. m. 303

THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY OF YIRKVILLE meets every Monday evening at 206 E. 86th st. This Society aims to educate its members in a thorough knowledge of Socialism by means of discussions and debates. Come and join. 345

WORKINGMEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB, 14th Assembly District. Business meeting every Monday evening, at 8 o'clock, in the Clubhouse, 528 East 11th street. English lectures every Sunday evening. Bowling alley and billiard room open every evening. Visitors welcome. 371

Arbeiter- Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse fuer die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 155 local branches with more than 16,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of a deposit of $4.00 for the first class and $3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of $9.0 for 40 weeks and of $4.50 for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time $6.00 and $3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of $250.00 is guaranteed for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of $1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 25 workingmen in good health and men adhering to the above principles are invited to do so.

Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary 25-27 3d avenue, Room 53, New York City.

Workmen's Children Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The address of the Financial Secretary of the Executive Committee is:
REINHARD LACHNER, 13 Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, N. Y. City, N. Y.

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance.

Organized 1873. Membership 19,000.

Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

OFFICE: 64 East Fourth street. Office hours, daily, except Sundays and holidays, from 1 to 9 o'clock P. M.

BRANCHES: Yonkers, Troy, Binghamton, Gloversville, Elmira, Albany, Oneida, N. Y. Paterson, Newark, Elizabeth, South River, Passaic and Trenton, N. J.
Manchester, N. H.
Adams, Boston, Holyoke, Springfield, Mass.
New Haven, Waterbury, Meriden, Hartford, and Bridgeport, Conn.
Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Allegheny, Lasers, Altoona, Pa.
Chicago, Ill.
Cleveland, Ohio.
For addresses of the Branch-bookkeepers, see "Vorwärts."

GRAND ANNUAL

MASQUERADE & CIVIC BALL

— GIVEN BY THE —

WORKINGMAN'S PUBLISHING ASS'N,

("Arbeiter-Zeitung" Publishing Association)

ON SATURDAY EVENING, JANUARY 14th, 1899.

—AT—

Grand Central Palace, Lexington Ave., 43d & 44th Sts.

TICKETS, - - - Admit One, - - - 25 CENTS.

12 Valuable Prizes will be awarded to the Best, most Original and Comic Costumes.